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Retired academics and professional continuity: a cross-cultural comparison

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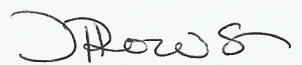
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ABSTRACT

The socio-economic challenges caused by ageing populations, are encouraging many countries to re-evaluate the place of older people in society and to adopt measures to encourage active ageing. Brazil and the UK will have similar proportions of people aged 60 or over as a percentage of the total population by 2050. As a consequence of this, changes to retirement policies in the UK and Brazil, aim to make the welfare system more financially sustainable. It is therefore relevant to study the retirement patterns of occupational groups where their members hold specialised skills, knowledge and have the scope to remain active for longer. This study aims to compare the transition to retirement of academics and their experiences of professional continuity thereafter, in Brazil and the UK.

A mixed methods approach combining an on-line survey and in-depth narrative interviews was used to address the research questions. The study found that among Brazilian and UK retired academics there was a desire for a continuity of professional identity, and most tended to experience some professional continuity following retirement. How the retirees engaged in academic activities varied among individuals; the amount of activities usually related to time in retirement, age and health status. It was noted that in the UK there was more scope for alternative retirement arrangements than in Brazil. Life satisfaction in retirement was associated with financial stability, enhanced freedom and the possibility to actively use academic skills and knowledge. The findings suggest that universities' retirement policies should be made more transparent and, in some cases, reviewed. Additionally, retirees should be encouraged to prepare for retirement to facilitate their adjustment. It is suggested that future research should investigate the retirement of women in academia, the retirement policies of universities and the retirement of academics in other countries.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BR	The Federative Republic of Brazil
DRA	Default retirement age (UK)
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions (UK)
ILO	International Labour Office
MPS	Ministério da Previdência Social (Ministry of Social Welfare – BR)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
UK	The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
USA	United States of America
SPA	State Pension Age (UK)
WHO	World Health Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE – Introduction

INTRODUCTION

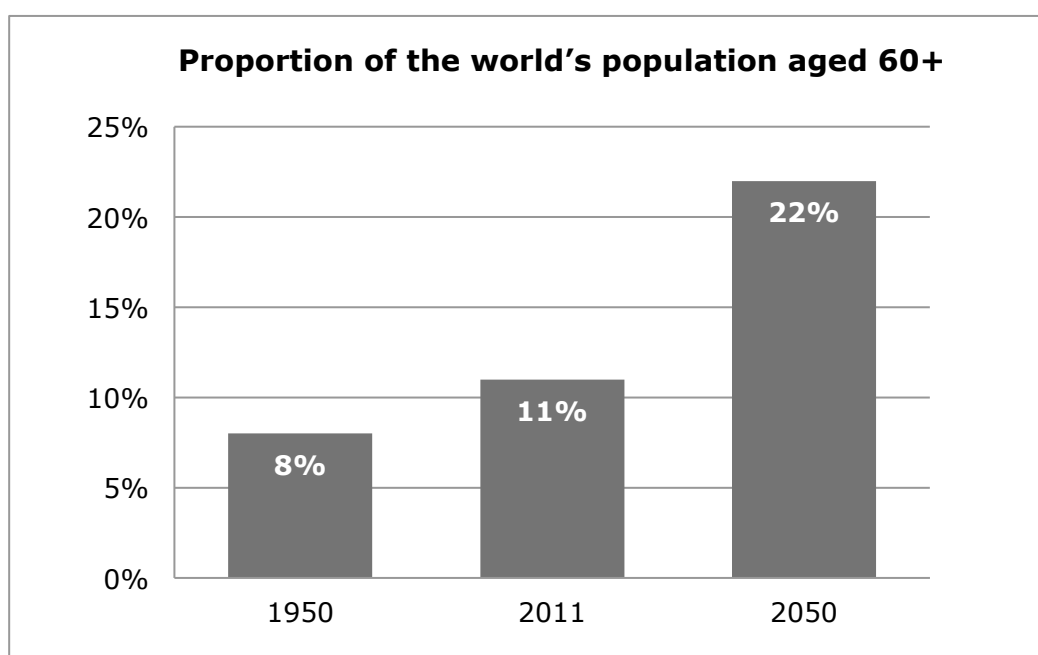
AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

THESIS OUTLINE

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the social impact of demographic changes and the ageing of the world's population have been the subject of major debate (World Health Organisation - WHO, 2002; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development - OECD, 2001; Ghosheh *et al.*, 2006; OECD, 2006; United Nations – UN, 2010; OECD, 2011a; Beard *et al.*, 2012). Among the factors contributing to demographic change are: the transition from high to low fertility rates, increased longevity and falls in mortality rates (WHO 2002; UN, 2010; Beard *et al.*, 2012). The UN (2010) suggests that this demographic change, which started in the developed world in the 19th century and more recently in developing countries, is already transforming many societies. The ageing of the population is expected to accelerate (UN, 2010; OECD, 2011a), particularly in developing countries (UN, 2010). The magnitude of the world's demographic change can be observed in Chart 1.1 below.

Chart 1.1 Proportion of the world's population aged 60-plus, 1950-2050



Source: UN (2010)

In the 1950, the number of people aged 60 or over accounted for 8% (n=200 million) of the world population (Beard *et al.*, 2012). At that point only three countries had more than 10 million people over the age of 60: China, 41 million, India, 29 million, and the USA, 20 million (UN, 2010).

The number of people aged 60 or over increased three and a half times by 2009 reaching 737 million. In the same year, there were twelve countries with more than 10 million people aged 60 or over. Among these countries were China, 160 million, India, 89 million, the USA, 56 million, Japan, 38 million, the Russian Federation, 25 million and Germany, 21 million (UN, 2010).

It is estimated that by 2050 those aged 60 or over are expected to account for 22% (2 billion) of the world's population (Beard *et al.*, 2012). It is also expected that by 2050 thirty two countries will have more than 10 million people aged 60 or over, and among these five countries will have more than 50 million people aged 60 or over: China, 440 million, India, 316 million, the USA, 111 million, Indonesia, 72 million and Brazil, 64 million (UN, 2010).

The UN (2010) points out that the older population (aged 60-plus) is undergoing a faster growth than the total population in nearly all regions of the world. The difference in the growth rates of the total population and the older population, is increasing. While it is estimated that the total population will increase by 2 billion between the years 2010 and 2050; the older population is set to increase by 1.3 billion (Beard *et al.*, 2012).

The WHO (2002) suggests that the ageing of the population represents a 'triumph' as it reflects a success in managing health related issues, premature mortality and in increasing longevity. Although an ageing population presents opportunities, it also presents risks (WHO, 2002). One of the opportunities is that if older people retain their health and live in an environment which promotes their active participation, they

can act as a valuable resource contributing to society with their experience, skills and wisdom (WHO, 2002). Among the challenges highlighted by the WHO (2002) are the sustainability of the social and pension system and the promotion of an age-friendly culture which enables older people to have access to the same rights and opportunities available to other adults, such as work, citizenship and leisure.

The ageing of the population puts many developed and developing countries under pressure to adjust to the new demographic reality (Samorodov, 1999; WHO, 2002; UN, 2010; Beard *et al.*, 2012). The proportion of older people diverges between developed and developing regions. While developed countries currently have a considerably higher percentage of older people per population when compared to developing countries, it is estimated that developing countries are likely to achieve a similar demographic profile by 2050 (UN, 2010).

The UN (2010) suggests that this fast pace of population ageing in developing countries represents a particular challenge, as these countries will have much less time to adjust and address the issues arising from the changed demographics (see also Beard *et al.*, 2012). Beard *et al.* (2012) argues that developing countries will have to manage getting old before they get rich.

As individuals live longer and healthier lives (WHO, 2002), the years in retirement are increasing (OECD, 2006) and there are concerns about how to finance the retirement of an ageing population (OECD, 2001; OECD, 2006; Ghosheh *et al.*, 2006; OECD, 2011a). Among the OECD countries expenditure on pensions grew 15% faster than the national income between 1990 and 2007, and this becomes a particular source of concern as the ageing of the population is set to accelerate (OECD, 2011a). As a consequence of these demographic, economic, social and political trends the notion of 'active ageing' (WHO, 2002) has been developed in many societies and has been influential in shaping policies and practices towards the issue of retirement (Taylor, 2010).

Many countries have been encouraging older workers to postpone retirement and remain in the workforce for longer (Samorodov, 1999; OECD, 2006; Ghosheh *et al.*, 2006; OECD, 2011a). Vickerstaff (2010) highlights that in the research literature 'older workers' (individuals aged 50 or over) have been frequently treated as a single group, however they form an heterogeneous group, where their circumstances are differentiated by gender, age, ethnicity, class, health status, level of income and family responsibilities (see also Wanjman *et al.*, 2005; Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008). She further argues that more research is necessary to better understand the various groups within the 'older workers' category, as well as to understand flexible work, gradual retirement and managing health at work.

In this context of increased longevity, these debates on delaying retirement and extending the working life have gained prominence in many OECD countries (OECD 2006; OECD, 2011a). As a consequence, studying the transition from full-time work to retirement, among those from professional backgrounds, is particularly pertinent. Professionals (and those of other expert occupations) tend to go through lengthy and costly training, and over the course of their careers develop further their skills and knowledge (see discussions in Chapter Three). This accumulated expertise and experience may be seen as a valuable resource to promote active participation within society, consistently with the ideas from the 'active ageing' framework (WHO, 2002). In the next section, the research purpose will be explored, including where the interest of studying retirement of academics started, the reasons to study academics and the reasons to compare Brazilian and UK academics.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

Within the context discussed in the previous section, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of the retirement transition, reasons to retire, the retirement

process, arrangements and paid and unpaid work in retirement for academic staff, in two different national/cultural contexts: the UK and Brazil.

The researcher's interest in studying retirement and adjustment to ageing was motivated at first by her belief that older people, with their accumulated skills and knowledge, are a resource to society, which seems to be undervalued and underutilised. As part of the team coordinating retirement groups at a Brazilian university, the researcher noted that among the group's participants, a majority expressed an interest in continuing pursuing activities related to their professional identity in retirement. Among these participants, which included members of the wider university community, retired academics tended to be able to fulfil their desire for professional continuity following retirement more markedly than people from other backgrounds. Years later in the UK, the researcher observed that in the university she was working there were many retired academics who were still actively involved within the university. These similarities in retired academics' engagement in professional-related activities informally observed in Brazil and the UK were the starting point of this study.

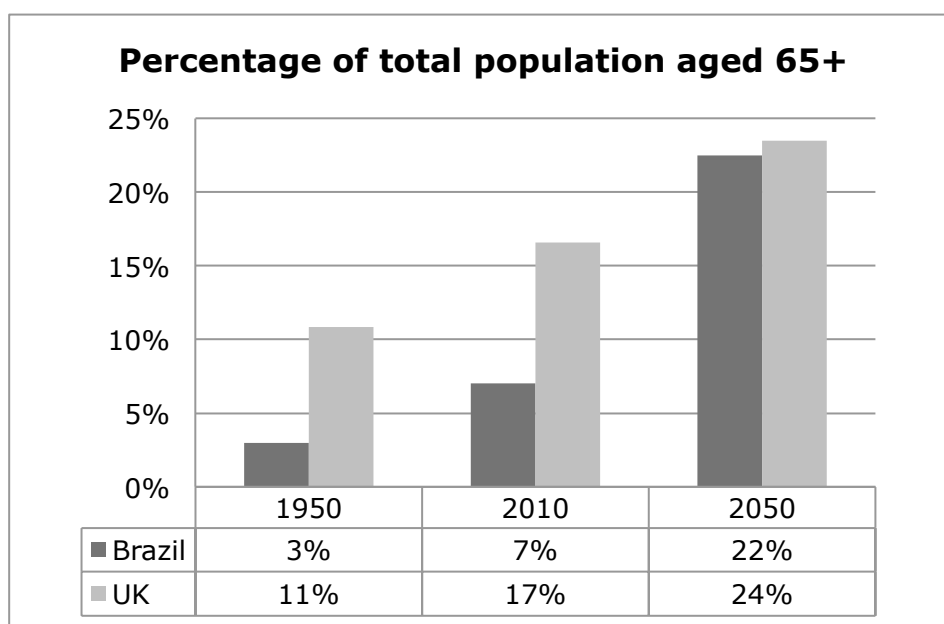
Academics, in common with many other professional groups, go through a long period of training and may spend in retirement almost the same amount of time as in the workforce (Tizard and Owen, 2001). The cost to society of fully retiring an academic can be said to go beyond the funding of pensions, but also includes the cost of losing their skills and experience (Tizard and Owen, 2001). In the research literature there is evidence (Dorfman, 1985; Dorfman, 1989; Deps, 1994; Taylor, 1999b; Tizard and Owen, 2001; Bragança, 2004; Veiga *et al.*, 2007; Thody, 2011) that academics continue to use their specialised skills and knowledge in different activities in retirement. However, more research on the transition to retirement of academics is necessary to understand how much professional continuity is desired and exercised. Additionally, more work is needed to elucidate the barriers to continuing engagement in academic-related activities and on the role of continued work-related activities with

regard to life and retirement satisfaction. This need for further research on retirement is particularly evident for UK and Brazilian academics (the relevant literature on retired academics and identified research gaps are explored in the Chapter Five of this dissertation).

In addition to this, as highlighted by Dorfman (1989), there are very few cross-cultural comparative studies on the retirement of academics; and more research is necessary to understand how academics from different cultures face the transition to retirement and the impact of these different cultural/national contexts on the retirement experience. Moreover, comparing the retirement of academics from different cultures contributes to understanding better culturally specific and universal aspects of their transition to retirement (Dorfman, 1989).

Brazil and the UK seem culturally, social-political and economically quite distinct. However, in recent years, both have been debating the consequences of their ageing population; and are actual examples of the reported trends in terms of demographic change for developed and developing countries, described earlier in this chapter (UN, 2011). This can be illustrated by Chart 1.2 below, where the percentages of the total population aged 65 or over in the UK and Brazil from 1950 to 2050 are presented.

Chart 1.2 Percentage of total population 65-plus in the UK and Brazil, 1950-2050



Source: Adapted from UN (2011)

While the percentage of people aged 65 or over has been growing steadily in the UK (and it is expected to continue this way); in Brazil, the same percentage is estimated to nearly triple by 2050 when compared with figures from 2010. The UK and Brazil are facing their own challenges due to their growing older population, and although they have different priorities to address in terms of retirement pension/welfare policy (see Chapter Two), discouraging early retirement is a common issue to the agenda of both Brazilian and UK policy makers.

While for many occupations the idea of working for longer may not be foreseeable (see Chapter Two), for academics in Brazil and the UK, it can be said that this is already happening (see Chapter Five). In view of this, it makes sense to study the retirement practices of an occupational group, such as academics, where the nature of their work allows for flexibility and provides the scope for alternative work arrangements in late career and retirement.

Considerable similarities can be still be found among universities from different developed and even developing countries, despite the fact that the concept of a university has been attached to different types of institutions with different goals and working practices (Collini, 2012). It is possible to assume that there is a commonality of working practices and professional aspirations among academics in both the UK and Brazil. When it comes to experiences of the transition to retirement there is an indication that many parallels can be found when comparing these two cultures (see Chapter Five), however, there is no research which directly compares their retirement practices.

Understanding the transition to retirement for academics in Brazil and the UK can inform institutions (universities) and policy makers on what retired academics want from retirement, and, in light of the pressures of the demographic changes and sustainability of a pension system, help universities to plan and design retirement policies that are more consistent with present population trends. Furthermore, it can be said that this study also aims to encourage further research on retirement practices for similar occupational groups, such as from other professional backgrounds which have the scope for flexibility in work arrangements and retirement, allowing their members to have the choice to remain productive for longer.

THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis consists of ten chapters. It important to note that for the literature review chapters, data from the UK was used, especially when this would allow better comparison to Brazil, e.g. International labour office [ILO] or OECD data sets to contextualise retirement policies and practices, Universities UK facts and figures on UK's universities and working practices. However, the participants from both stages of the data collection in this research were from English universities only. In order to

avoid confusion for the reader and to keep the text consistent, in this thesis 'UK' will be used throughout.

The review of the relevant literature is explored over the Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five. Chapter Two focuses on the review of policies and practices related to labour force participation and the retirement of older workers. The chapter starts by discussing the concept of retirement. Subsequently to this, data from the OECD and from the ILO were used to illustrate the impact of demographic change on retirement policies and practices. Furthermore, using ILO data, retirement practices specific to the UK and Brazil are examined. This chapter closes with a review of Brazilian and UK retirement policies, aiming to set the context of retirement for Brazilian and UK academics.

Chapter Three explores the transition to retirement, adjustment to ageing and retirement and how retirement is experienced. Different social theories of ageing are discussed. Activity and disengagement theories were chosen to illustrate functionalist theories which view old age as a separate stage of life, emphasising the idea of discontinuity. Following this, Continuity and Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage theories are reviewed. These theories take a life course perspective, emphasising the idea that old age is a continuation of life and to certain extent a consequence of the experiences from early and midlife. In addition, this chapter discusses the individualisation of the retirement experience and its consequences, especially for academics.

Chapter Four reviews the literature on the sociology of professions with a particular focus on academics as a professional group. This chapter explores academics' professional identity, its role in shaping lifestyle and its possible impact on the retirement experience. In addition to this, the context of academia in Brazil and the UK, including academics' working practices, academic activities, qualifications and employment relations, is examined.

In Chapter Five, the literature on retirement of academics is reviewed. Particular attention is given to exploring findings on the transition to retirement, the continuity of professional activity in retirement and the level of satisfaction with the arrangements in retirement. The focus of this chapter is to explore similarities and differences found in the transition to retirement for Brazilian and UK academics. In the literature review there was an indication that academics from both countries experienced a continuity of professional activities following retirement, with a variation in work arrangements and retirement circumstances. This chapter concludes by identifying the gap in the literature on academics' retirement in the UK and Brazil, which this research aims to address.

Following the literature review, Chapter Six describes the methods and methodology used in this study, including the research questions. The theoretical and practical aspects of using mixed methods research design are discussed. This chapter also describes the methods and procedures used to access and collect the responses, including the recruitment of participants, ethics and limitations. Finally this chapter discusses the advantages and challenges of conducting cross-cultural/national comparative research.

The findings of this study are presented in Chapters Seven and Eight. Chapter Seven presents the responses to the on-line questionnaire for both UK and Brazilian samples. The responses were explored under three main sections: reasons to retire, continuities and discontinuities in the transition to retirement, and attitudes towards retirement – following the structure of the questionnaire. Throughout this chapter many responses from Brazilian and UK academics were compared and contrasted; their similarities and differences are highlighted.

Chapter Eight presents the in-depth narrative interviews with UK and Brazilian retired academics. The transcripts of the interviews for Brazilian and UK academics were analysed and presented separately. The participants were encouraged to explore their

whole working life until the point of the interview, including after retirement. The themes generated by the interviews were not identical for Brazilian and UK academics; however similar themes around their academic career development, the decision to retire and life in retirement were explored.

In Chapter Nine the empirical findings are brought together and discussed in relation to the previous literature on retirement and specifically the retirement of academics. The findings from the survey and interviews were largely consistent; and the findings generated from the interviews enhanced the understanding of certain aspects of academic careers and the transition and experience of retirement. Additionally, this chapter highlights the relevance of the findings for the individual as well as for practices and policies in the retirement of academics.

Chapter Ten concludes this study. This chapter starts by giving an overview of this study, including a reminder of the research purpose and key findings. Following this, the limitations of the present study are explored, and the challenges of studying retirement are discussed. Chapter Ten closes by offering suggestions for future studies which can build upon the work presented in this dissertation.

CHAPTER TWO - Retirement policies and practices in Brazil and the UK

INTRODUCTION

UNDERSTANDING RETIREMENT

TRENDS IN WORK AND RETIREMENT

RETIREMENT POLICY TRENDS

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the aims and objectives of the research was discussed and the importance of studying retirement in light of demographic changes explored. In this study, the aim is to explore to what extent academics experience continuity in their work identities, i.e. academic activities, after retirement. The possibility of exercising professional continuity in retirement may be an important issue if active ageing is to be achieved. In addition to this, if continuity is considered to be desirable for academics, then this study also aims to explore the external and internal factors which might assist or be a potential barrier to continuity. Organisational and public policies can be considered to be potential contributors to the promotion of a more seamless transition from full-time employment to retirement, giving individuals opportunities for continuity and contributing to the extension of their working lives.

At present, Brazil and the UK are experiencing changes in policies and retirement practices largely related to attempts to improve the sustainability of the pension system and reverse the practice of early retirement. Understanding these changes and the context in which they are taking place is essential when comparing the experience of retirement for UK and Brazilian academics. Moreover, understanding the agenda of policy makers allows this study to explore what opportunities and challenges in retirement academics as an occupational group might be faced with in the future, as a whole and in their national context.

In this chapter, an overview of the trends regarding work and retirement, particularly in OECD countries, will be explored. Ten OECD countries, including the UK, will be used to illustrate the points discussed. Whenever Brazilian data is available, for instance when using International Labour Office [ILO] data, this will also be included, so that differences and similarities to the UK can be noted. Following this, data on labour force participation from the ILO will be used to illustrate retirement practices in Brazil and in the UK. It is a challenge to find comparable data specific to retirement in

both countries, however labour force participation data can give an indication of formal retirement or other forms of exclusion from the labour force. It is important not to confuse labour force participation data with employment rates, as ILO data includes both individuals in employment and the unemployed. Following this, retirement policies trends will be a focus of discussions. Recent Brazilian and UK policies for retirement will be explored and then compared.

UNDERSTANDING RETIREMENT

Künemund and Kolland (2007) argue that retirement is a recent social phenomenon, having its expansion largely in the second half of the 20th century (Graebner, 1980; Phillipson, 1990; Künemund and Kolland, 2007). Atchley (2000) points out that older people's links to work changed over time. In medieval times, peasants would work as long as they could as income from work would not be replaced by a pension. As the industrial revolution developed, the need to renew the workforce, by replacing older for younger workers, contributed to the creation of the institution of retirement as a legitimate way to withdraw from work and still retain a modest amount of income (Atchley, 2000). Künemund and Kolland conclude that:

'The development of retirement as a separate period of life, however, is mainly a result of social security systems that provide adequate income for older people, allowing withdrawal from the labour force.' (2007:167)

Retirement as a social and economical institution expanded steadily between the 1950s and late 1960s (Graebner, 1980; Macnicol, 1998). As financial provision in retirement was institutionalised (Phillipson 2002) and as occupational pensions became more common (Hannah, 1986), retirement was increasingly seen as a legitimate stage of life, accepted and expected by many workers (Phillipson 2002; Phillipson and Smith, 2005). The period between the late 1960s and the 1980s was

marked by critical changes derived from high levels of unemployment and an increased flexibility of work patterns (Phillipson and Smith, 2005). Among the strategies used to control the effects of unemployment, early retirement policies were introduced (Laczko and Walker, 1985; Phillipson, 1990). These early retirement policies appeared to have become a mass phenomenon in Europe by the early 1970s and 1980s (Künemund and Kolland, 2007), and led to an increase in the number of years individuals would be in retirement (Phillipson, 1990; Künemund and Kolland, 2007). The transition to retirement shifted from a standardised to an individualised process (Vickerstaff and Cox, 2005), hence people started to experience retirement in different ways (see Chapter Three). One of the consequences of this is that the concept of retirement has become more differentiated (Kohli and Rein, 1991). The next few paragraphs aim to discuss the concept of retirement and aspects that might influence its definition, and to clarify the definition used in this study.

The term retirement can be viewed as somewhat ambiguous. It can refer to an event, a process, a status, a role or a phase of life (Kohli and Rein, 1991), and it can have its meaning attached to different objective and subjective criteria, such as work, income and pension receipt as well as the self assessment of individuals (Ekerdt and DeViney, 1990; Kohli and Rein, 1991). Gilleard and Higgs (2005) add that the diffuse and often contradictory set of positions for retired people within the society also contributes to the ambiguity of the concept of retirement. Atchley (1982, 2000) suggests that as retirement serves many purposes, it invariably means different things for different people.

The idea of 'retirement age' can also lead to misinterpretation. Metcalf and Meadows (2006) highlight the confusion which may arise when using terms such as 'retirement age' and 'pension age', especially when these are used interchangeably. 'Retirement age' is particularly misleading as it is frequently used to indicate the age at which the state pension is payable and the age at which an occupational pension may normally be drawn (Metcalf and Meadows, 2006). However, 'pension age', marking receipt of a

state pension, does not necessarily coincide with 'retirement age'. Metcalf and Meadows (2006:61) explain:

'...in an employment context, 'retirement age' has two distinct meanings: the age set by an employer for retirement from the organisation and the age at which a worker leaves the labour force for retirement.'

Künemund and Kolland (2007) point out that in most OECD countries, the actual retirement age is usually three to five years lower than the state pension age. Frequently, individuals exit the labour force in advance of the state's pension age due to health and disability or simply unemployment (OECD, 2006).

Kohli and Rein (1991) discuss the difference between the withdrawal from full-time employment and retirement. They use the terms 'exit' when referring to permanent withdrawal from full-time employment and 'retirement' when referring to reaching the state's pension age (SPA). When the 'exit' happens prior to the pension age, they use the term 'early exit'. To bridge the gap between 'early exit' and 'retirement', Kohli and Rein (1991:6) use the concept of 'pathways', i.e. unemployment benefits, disability benefits, occupational pension and so on. These benefits are used to create pathways out of the workplace ahead of the entry into public old age pension system.

Meadows (2003) points out that the state pension age or the normal retirement age in occupational pension schemes do not determine the age at which people actually retire. In the same way that individuals retire before they are entitled to occupational or state pension, the receipt of pension, state or occupational, does not necessarily mean retirement from paid work (Meadows, 2003).

Other studies found that it is not uncommon for individuals who take early retirement to continue to seek and find employment in the labour market (Dench and Norton, 1996; Phillipson, 2002; Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2004). Guillemard (1997) distinguishes individuals who are 'fully retired', who do not have the intention to return to work, by

talking of 'definitive withdrawal from the labour market'. This is as opposed to those who leave their organisations before the state pension age and spend some years moving in and out of the labour force.

Künemund and Kolland (2007) suggest that retirees might have different perceptions about their 'retirement' status. They might consider themselves retired because they receive pension even if they are still in paid employment. Others might not consider themselves retired even if they stopped working due to health reasons or caring responsibilities. The consequences of this for data collection have to be taken into consideration when conducting research on retirement. In this study, participants are designated as 'retired' if they are officially retired and are in receipt of a retirement pension. However this does not also mean that individuals are withdrawn from the workforce or have actually reached the state's minimum pension age, which is currently in the process of being raised in the United Kingdom and is under review in Brazil.

TRENDS IN WORK AND RETIREMENT

As this study aims to compare the retirement of academics between two countries, it is important to review general trends in labour force participation of older workers and retirement. In most developed countries, labour force ageing is high on the agenda of policy makers (Taylor, 2010; Vickerstaff, 2010). In addition to increased longevity, as outlined in Chapter One, many countries experienced a decline in pensionable age during the latter half of the 20th century and this was particularly evident in OECD countries (OECD, 2011a). To illustrate the variation in retirement ages over the years, the table below summarises the average effective age of retirement, from the 1970 to 2009, for ten OECD countries.

Table 2.1 Average effective retirement age of retirement

Average effective age of retirement					
Men					
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2009
	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90	1995-00	2004-09
Australia	67.4	64.1	62.5	62.0	64.8
Belgium	64.2	61.5	58.5	58.5	59.1
Chile	69.6	67.5	67.0	68.5	66.9
Italy	65.9	62.2	62.3	60.2	61.1
Finland	65.9	65.9	61.3	60.2	61.8
Japan	72.3	70.7	70.4	70.1	69.7
Netherlands	66.6	63.0	59.7	60.6	62.1
Spain	69.4	64.8	62.9	61.7	61.8
UK	67.7	66.0	62.8	62.4	64.3
USA	68.5	66.4	64.7	64.7	65.5
Women					
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2009
	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90	1995-00	2004-09
Australia	65.2	60.1	60.4	59.7	62.9
Belgium	62.7	59.0	56.1	57.1	59.1
Chile	64.5	64.9	68.9	65.9	66.3
Italy	62.1	61.8	59.3	58.8	58.7
Finland	62.0	62.7	60.7	59.9	61.4
Japan	68.1	66.6	66.4	66.2	67.3
Netherlands	66.7	64.1	58.8	58.7	62.6
Spain	71.9	66.6	64.9	61.9	63.4
UK	65.7	62.6	60.7	60.9	62.1
USA	68.0	66.3	64.9	63.5	64.8

Source: OECD statistics (various years)

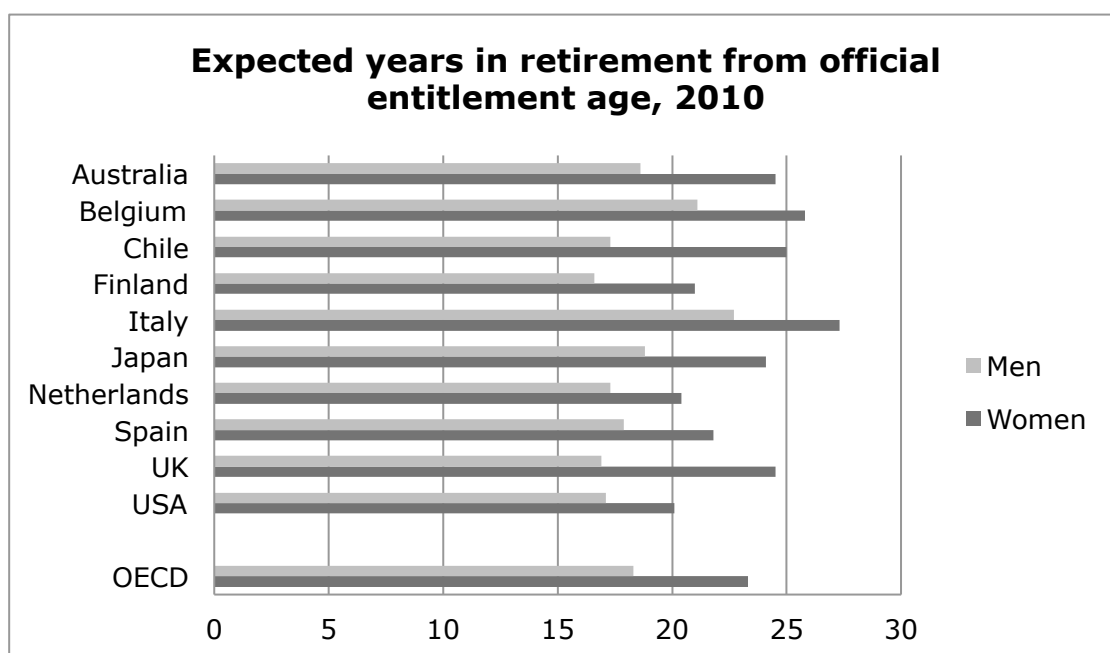
Table 2.1 illustrates the trend towards earlier retirement ages among men during the 1970s and 1980s. The development of early retirement was derived from the idea that

removing older workers from the labour market would be an effective response to high unemployment, especially among young people (Laczko and Walker, 1985; Phillipson, 1990; Künemund and Kolland, 2007; Taylor, 2011). In the 1980s and 1990s a dramatic fall in labour force participation rates among older workers accompanied the process of restructuring industrialised economies (Taylor, 2011). In Europe from the 1980s *'employment after the age of 65 was virtually eradicated'* (Phillipson and Baars, 2007:73).

Table 2.1 also shows that for most countries in 2009 there was a rise in the retirement age, when compared to the position at the beginning of the 1990s. From the 1990s, governments started taking action to reverse the trend for early retirement (Phillipson and Smith, 2005; OECD, 2006; Vickerstaff, 2010; Taylor, 2010; OECD, 2011a; Taylor, 2011) with many OECD countries now working on legislation to increase pensionable age (OECD, 2011a). In addition to increases in pensionable age, half of OECD countries have taken other pension-related measures to encourage people to work for longer (OECD, 2011a).

Although it can be said that the trend for early retirement has been showing signs of reverse (OECD, 2006; OECD, 2011a), the numbers of years individuals spend in retirement has increased since the 1970s (Phillipson, 1990; OECD, 2006; Künemund and Kolland, 2007). For OECD countries, on average, the years in retirement increased from 11 years in 1970 to 18 years in 2004 for men, and from 14 years in 1970 to 22 ½ years for women in 2004. With longevity likely to increase further (OECD, 2011a), these years in retirement are also likely to increase if no action is taken (OECD, 2006). The OECD (2006) highlights that there is considerable variation from country to country which is illustrated in Chart 2.1.

Chart 2.1 Expected years in retirement from official entitlement age, 2010.



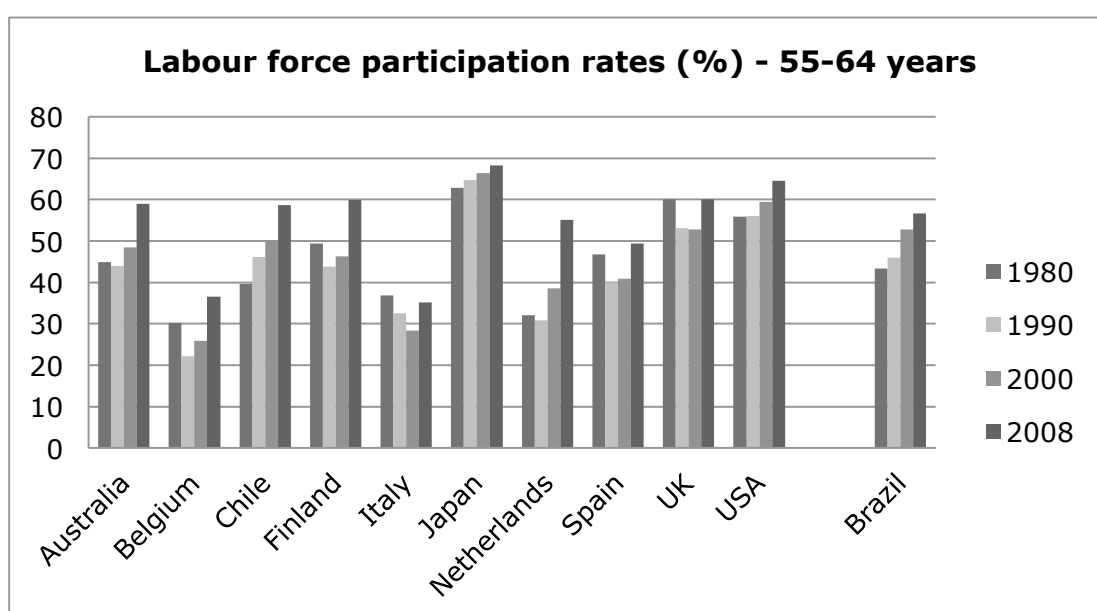
Source: OECD (2011b)

There is a general consensus in the literature that extending the working life and encouraging older workers to remain active is necessary to maintain the sustainability of welfare systems (Samorodov, 1999; OECD, 2006; Taylor, 2010; Vickerstaff, 2010; OECD, 2011a). In addition to raising the pensionable age, there are other measures which may encourage people to work for longer. In order to understand these possible measures, the labour market context for older workers needs to be explored further. Taylor (2010) points out that research over many decades indicates the disadvantaged status of older workers in the labour markets of industrialised economies. A review of the situation for the OECD can be summarised in three points: (1) the mobility (for example: new hires) within the labour market is lower for older workers; (2) older workers are more likely to experience long term unemployment than younger workers, although the rates of job loss are similar; (3) older workers experiencing economic inactivity are more likely to remain inactive permanently (Taylor, 2010; see also OECD, 2006). A more recent publication from the OECD highlights that when

comparing older workers (over the age of 50) to so-called 'prime age workers' (those aged 25-50) the latter are more likely to be in employment (OECD, 2011a).

In OECD countries in 2008, the labour force participation rate of older workers, between the ages of 50 and 64, averaged 63% while those of prime aged workers averaged 75% in the same year (OECD, 2011a). The chart below illustrates how the labour force participation rate of older workers, between the ages of 55 and 64, changed over the years from 1980 until 2008.

Chart 2.2 Labour force participation rates, 55-64 years old age group



Source: International Labour Office [ILO] (2009)

In Chart 2.2, it can be seen that for these selected countries the labour force participation of people from this age group was generally higher in 2008 than in 1980. For OECD countries, this is also true when comparing the labour force participation rates of people aged over 50 in 2008 to 1970 (OECD, 2011a). This effect can be said to be related to the growing labour force participation for women of this cohort (OECD, 2011a; Taylor, 2011).

Several reasons may lead older workers to leave the labour force early for retirement, rather than working until reaching pensionable age (Samarodov, 1999; Phillipson and Smith, 2005; OECD, 2006; Taylor, 2010; Maltby, 2011; OECD, 2011). The OECD (2011a) highlights that pathways out of employment, other than retirement, include unemployment, disability and ill-health and there is an indication that many women leave employment due to caring responsibilities. It is important to be aware of these different pathways into retirement in order to effectively extend the working lives of individuals. It is equally important to explore the barriers older workers face to remaining in employment.

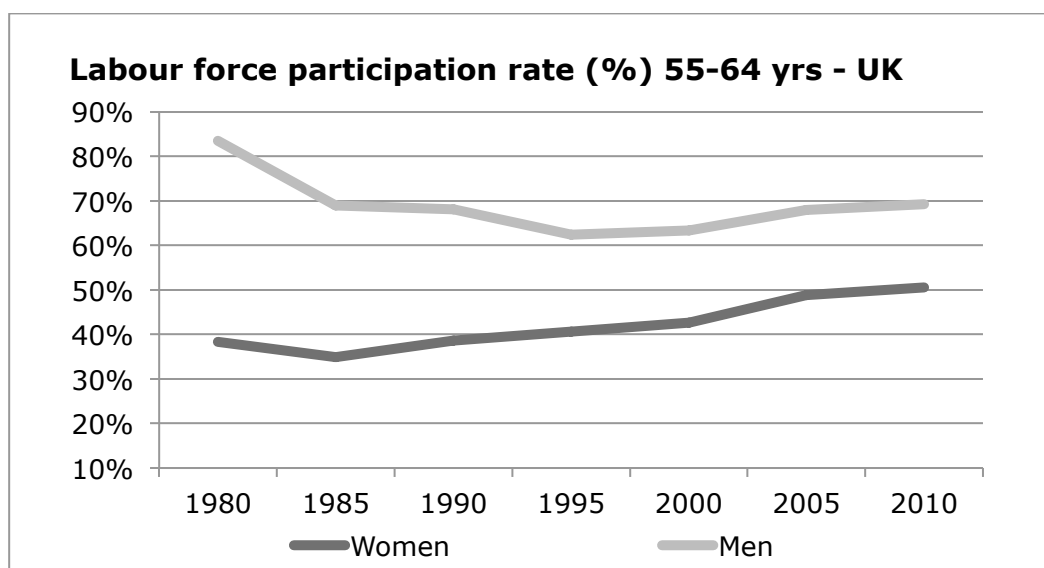
Taylor (2011) points out a lack of job readiness – i.e. a lack of skills currency or self-esteem – especially for those out of employment for extended periods of time, and the negative attitude of employers towards older workers is among the common barriers to extending the working life. The OECD (2011a) explores these barriers further pointing out that older workers are likely to experience age discrimination which directly or indirectly affecting their employability. They are less likely to receive training, therefore experiencing a higher depreciation of human capital. Older workers are usually seen in a negative light by employers who perceive them as expensive, especially when productivity is considered. Finally, the OECD points out that limitations with regard to work arrangements – i.e. no flexible work or part-time contracts available - discourage older workers from remaining in employment (OECD, 2011a; see also Phillipson and Smith, 2005; OECD, 2006).

In the next section the context of retirement specifically for the UK and Brazil will be explored. Labour force participation data for over 55 years old in Brazil and the UK will be used to illustrate recent policies and practices in work and retirement. The context of retirement in Brazil and the UK will be briefly compared.

Retirement practices in the UK

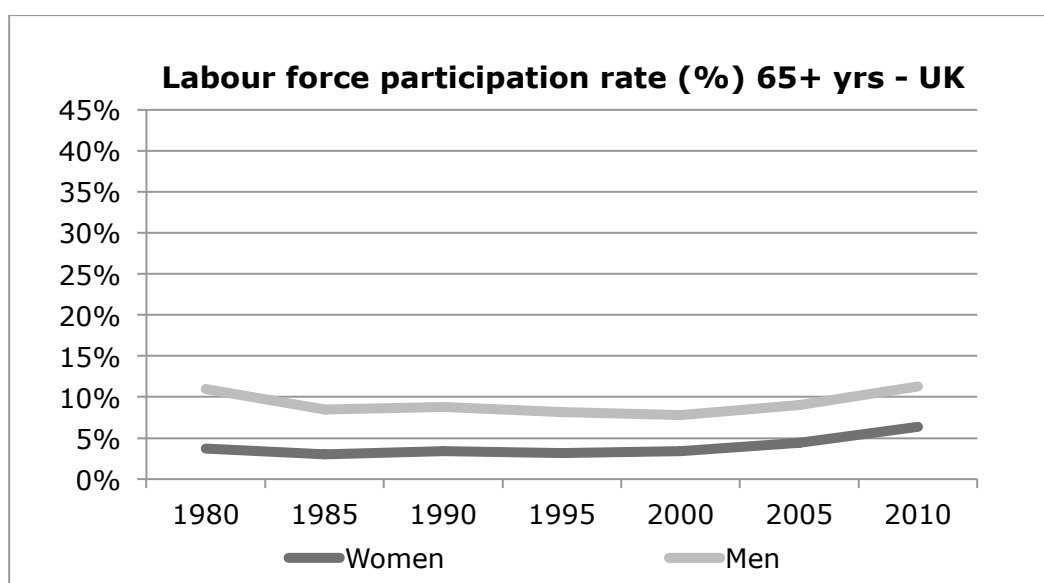
Charts 2.3 and 2.4 below show the labour force participation rates for UK older workers aged between 55-64 years and 65 and over, from 1980 to 2010. The changes in retirement practices, such as early retirement trends, will be discussed later.

Chart 2.3 Labour force participation rates (UK), 55-64 years old age group



Sources: International Labour Office [ILO] (2009); International Labour Office [ILO] (2011)

Chart 2.4 Labour force participation rates (UK), 65+ years old age group



Sources: International Labour Office [ILO] (2009); International Labour Office [ILO] (2011)

Chart 2.3 shows that for men in the UK, there was a decline in labour force participation from 1980 to 1985, as early retirement policies were in place, and then again from 1990 to 1995 (Phillipson 1990, Phillipson 1998, Künemund and Kolland, 2007). For women of this age group, consistent with the OECD countries, discussed previously in this chapter (see also OECD, 2011a), a steady increase in labour force participation can be noted. Taylor (2011:24) warns that older women's experience of early exit, like male counterparts, were '*clouded by a cohort effect*' of increasing women's participation generally. Nevertheless a large difference between the labour force participation rate for different genders can be observed.

Chart 2.4 for the UK illustrates how in the 1970s and 1980s work after the age of 65 was reduced (Phillipson and Baars, 2006). Following a reduction in labour force participation percentage for men, the overall rates remained lowered until the 2000s when they started to show an increase. For women from the age of 65 and over, labour force participation has been consistently lower, however, following the pattern for men, shows an increase from the year 2000 onwards.

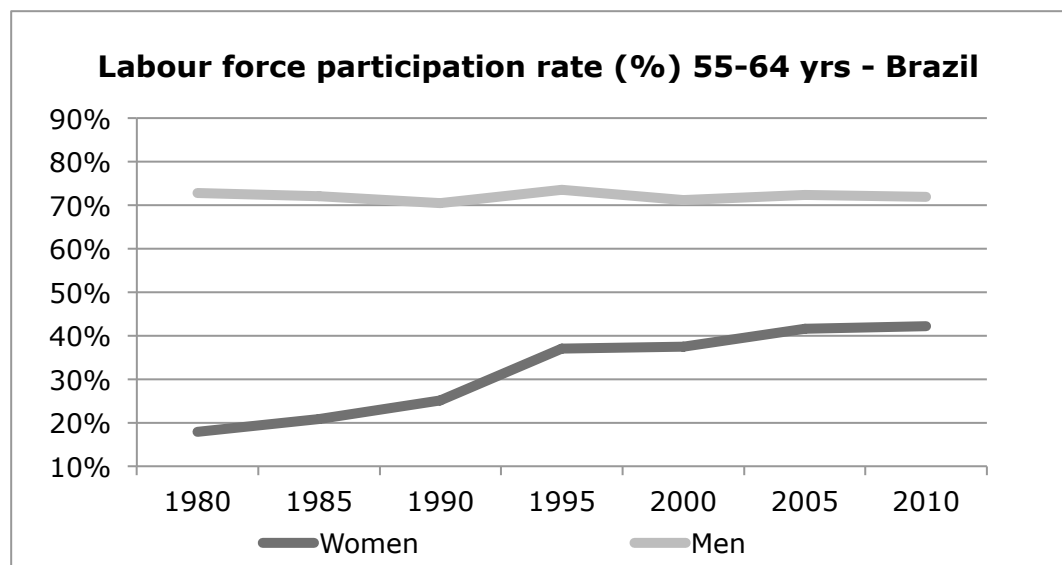
In Chart 2.3, from 1995 to 2010 it is clear that the trend of early retirement shows signs of reverse. Labour force participation for men between 55-64 years old increased by 10.9% in the same period. Women of the same age group, who from 1985 had been experiencing a steady growth in labour force participation, had a considerable increase in labour force participation in the period between the years of 1995 to 2010, at a rate of 19.4%. The sharpest increase happened in the period between 2000 and 2005 (see also Phillipson and Smith, 2005; OECD, 2006; Künemund and Kolland, 2007; OECD, 2011a). This increase in labour force participation percentage reflects the period in which concerns regarding demographic changes, and the sustainability of a pension system, initiated debates on extending the working life in most developed countries (Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Irving, Steels and Hall, 2005; Loretto *et al.*, 2005; OECD, 2006; OECD, 2011a). In the UK, different initiatives for extending

working life have been put in place which will be explored further later in this chapter. The next subsection will describe retirement practices in Brazil.

Retirement practices in Brazil

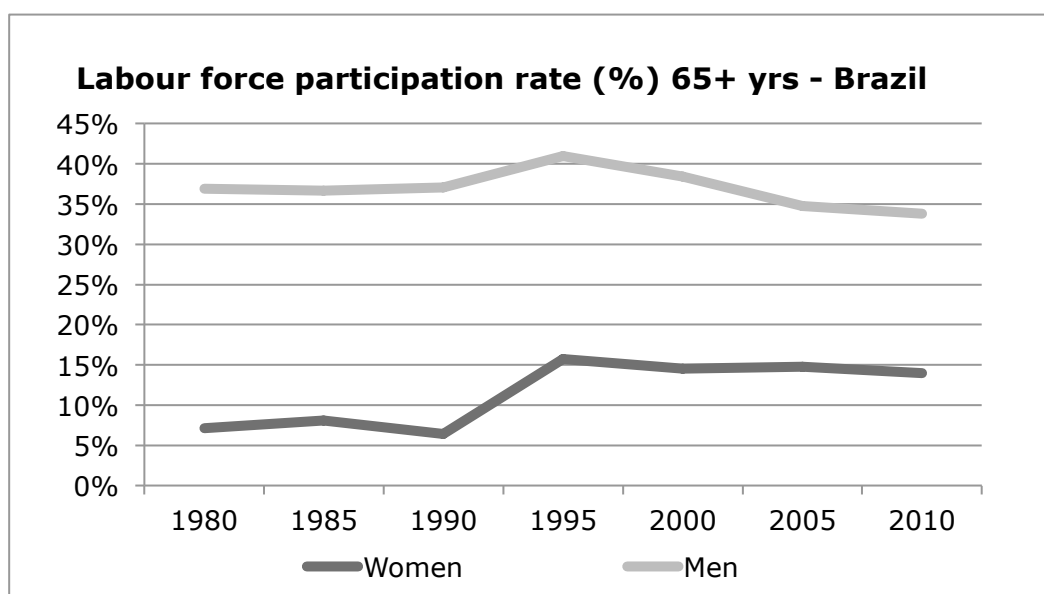
While Brazil mirrors the international trends in ageing societies, its retirement practices over the years clearly differ. This is almost certainly a reflection of the developing status of Brazil's economy and society. Charts 2.5 and 2.6 below show the labour force participation rates for Brazil's older workers, aged between 55-64 years and 65 and over, from 1980 until 2010. Retirement practices will be put into the context of the development of the country's retirement policies.

Chart 2.5 Labour force participation rates (Brazil), 55-64 years old age group



Sources: International Labour Office [ILO] (2009); International Labour Office [ILO] (2011)

Chart 2.6 Labour force participation rates (Brazil), 65+ years old age group



Sources: International Labour Office [ILO] (2009); International Labour Office [ILO] (2011)

The labour force participation in Brazil for men aged between 55 and 64 has been fairly stable (see Chart 2.5) since the mid-1990s. The unified states' pension system started to be developed only in the 1970s and 1980s (Vargas, 2005). However, the expansion of the Brazilian pension system was enabled by the reforms in 1988 which awarded the right of a retirement pension to rural workers as well as to urban workers (Vargas, 2005; see also Ministério da Previdência Social - MPS, 2009). From 1980 to 2010 there were two small points of decline in labour force participation levels for men; in 1990, which coincided with the period following the constitution of 1988 which made it possible for many people to retire and in 2000 which coincided with the first wave of pension reforms to adjust the disparities between public sector and private sector state pension entitlements (Vargas, 2005; MPS, 2009). After the year 2000 there was slight growth in the labour force participation of men aged between 55 and 64 years old. Comparatively, women of the same age group experienced substantial increase in labour force participation rates, mirroring international trends. The growth in participation rates from the years of 1980 to 2010 was 57.6%.

Chart 2.6, shows that the labour force participation for men over the age of 65 was high in comparison to developed countries. However, since 1995 it has shown some signs of decline to a rate of 21.3%. This might be due to government efforts to extend pension coverage which have taken place over the past three decades, enabling more individuals to retire. This and other ongoing policies are explored further in this chapter. The labour force participation of women over the age of 65 has been consistently increasing; between the years 1980 and 2010 it increased at a rate of 49.3%, with the sharpest increase between 1990 and 1995. Interestingly, official government figures show that the average age of male individuals drawing a state pension is 54 years old (Amaro, 2011), demonstrating that it is not uncommon behaviour to continue pursuing paid work after retirement. Trends in labour force participation indicate that the poorest countries tend to have the highest labour force participation, not necessarily employment, as very few individuals can afford to be out of work (ILO, 2011). Wanjman *et al.* (2005) claim that the Brazilian system is so heterogeneous that differences in geographic location, rural or urban, age, line of activity and years of schooling will determine whether older individuals will be still in the labour force or in retirement.

A study of the literature highlights how much developing economies are usually neglected in the study of old age and retirement (Glomm *et al.*, 2006; Queiroz, 2007). Brazil, unlike other developing countries, mirrors Europe's trend of demographic change. Challenges related to pension provision for older people, pressures to extend working life and dependency ratios found in the UK and Europe, are also found in Brazil. The sustainability of a pension system to an increasing ageing population has been a recent concern to Brazilian policy makers as well as those in the UK. However, there are clear differences in policies which illustrate the different realities between Brazil and the UK. The following section aims to explore policy trends regarding older workers and retirement, with a particular focus on recent policy debates in Brazil and the UK.

RETIREMENT POLICY TRENDS

In OECD countries there is much discussion about the participation of older workers, retirement practices and the challenges of funding retirement for a growing ageing population (OECD, 2001; OECD, 2006; OECD, 2011a). Vickerstaff (2010) points out that although many studies indicate that extending the working life is a solution to address the sustainability of pensions for a growing older population, how this can be implemented is seen as a challenge; especially when the needs of all stakeholders – government, employers and individuals – are to be met (Vickerstaff, 2010). In the literature (Samorodov, 1999; Phillipson and Smith, 2005; OECD, 2006; Maltby, 2011; OECD, 2011a; Taylor, 2011), recommended measures for extending the working life include:

- (1) Increase the retirement age – this may be achieved by, for example, raising the pension age, closing or limiting pathways to early retirement, rewarding pension deferral, ending mandatory retirement age.
- (2) Challenge ageism – by, for example, changing employers' attitudes towards older workers, introducing legislation against age discrimination, encouraging training among older worker.
- (3) Create an environment where people can work for longer – by, for example, flexible retirement options, part-time contracts, improving occupational health, applying workability index.

Evidence to date suggests that progress on the above measures has not been entirely successful (Taylor, 2011). Vickerstaff (2010) warns of the dangers of using the term 'older workers', usually applied to over 50s, given the varied experiences and backgrounds of this group. Taylor (2011) argues that policies which emphasise the disadvantaged status of older workers paradoxically undermine their prospects. Some policies, such as gradual retirement, may benefit some but not others. For instance

there is evidence from the USA which suggests that some individuals are involuntarily pushed into gradual retirement or work contracts. For many, such as people with low pension funds, this may not be their preferred choice (Taylor, 2011). Vickerstaff (2010) raises the question as to whether older workers want to work for longer, what kinds of work they might want, or more importantly, what are the implications of extending working life policies and associated measures for the different segments of the 50+ age group, especially for those from disadvantaged groups. With these points in mind, next subsection will explore recent UK work and retirement policies for older people.

Retirement policies in the UK - extending working life

Like other OECD countries, the UK has been working on measures to make the pension system sustainable and able to cope with an increasingly ageing population. Policy makers have been addressing the trends for earlier retirement and increased longevity by using strategies to extend the working life (Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008; Hedges *et al.*, 2009; Vickerstaff, 2010; Taylor, 2010; Barrell *et al.*, 2011). Vickerstaff *et al.* (2008) argue that encouraging people to stay in the workforce for longer will make an important contribution to meeting the demographic challenge.

The UK literature on retirement highlights that the fact that older workers leave paid employment ahead of the state pension age reflects a combination of push and pull factors (Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Vickerstaff, 2010). The main *push* factors out of the workforce include: declining health, caring responsibilities, limited job satisfaction, and redundancy (Humphrey *et al.*, 2003; Phillipson and Smith 2005; Smeaton and Vegeris 2009, Vickerstaff, 2010). *Pull* factors towards retirement are usually connected to factors such as being able to afford to retire while being able to have a certain lifestyle, a desire to engage in leisure activities and to enjoy what has been

termed the 'third age' (Scale and Scase, 2001; Phillipson, 2002; Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008). Considering these factors, policies for extending the working life aim to increase employment rates among older people, maximising the older workers' value to the economy while providing individuals with improved opportunities and outcomes (Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008).

A number of strategies have been introduced in order to encourage the employment of older workers. These include: legislation against age discrimination, changes to the state pension, measures to encourage a more flexible approach to retirement, programmes to assist people in receipt of incapacity benefits or employment support allowance to go back to work and campaigns to change attitudes towards older workers. These measures clearly point to the focus of the policy of extending the working life within the UK and are reviewed below.

In October 2006, the Employment Equality (Age) Regulations were introduced (Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008). These aimed to protect older workers from age-related discrimination when applying for jobs, receiving training and development, being promoted and being made redundant and to protect individuals against compulsory retirement below the state pension age [SPA] (Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008). In 2007, carers of adults, such as a parent, were given the right to request flexible working (Age Positive, 2007) in order to prevent individuals with caring responsibilities for elderly relatives from feeling pressured to withdraw from the labour force all together. The programme 'Pathways to Work' was introduced from April 2008 to April 2011 to encourage people out of work on incapacity benefits or on employment and support allowance to re-join the work force. From April 2011, the government introduced a new programme of welfare reform. The 'Work Programme' promised to offer people, including older job seekers, targeted, personalised help to get them back to work. For older workers, these measures had the objective of reversing the trend of individuals over the age of 50, once unemployed, to be pushed completely out of the workforce into retirement (Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008; Maltby, 2011).

Important pension reforms were legislated for in recent years with the objective of increasing and equalising the State Pension Age [SPA] for men and women. The Pension Act 2011 legislated that from April 2016, women's state pension age will rise faster than originally planned, equalising with men's at 65 by November 2018. Between December 2018 and October 2020, men's and women's State Pension ages will be increased from 65 to 66 (Department for Work and Pensions, 2011). Following a budget decision (see Budget 2012; Guardian, 24th March 2012), further increases in the SPA are going to be continually reviewed in line with changes in life expectancy. This measure of linking retirement ages to life expectancy is likely to accelerate raising of the SPA, giving an indication of the urgency to implement policies to control the effects of the UK's ageing population.

In addition to these changes, there are other measures aimed at removing the barriers for people for continuing working beyond the SPA. From April 2006, changes to tax and occupational pension rules allowed workers to draw on an occupational pension scheme while continuing to work for the same employer with the option of reducing their hours. Also, people may choose to defer receipt of the state pension and to receive a lump sum or enhanced pension. Vickerstaff *et al.* (2008) point out that the stated aim of this measure is to give people more options in retirement, creating flexibility to encourage them to work beyond the SPA or to return to employment after SPA. Following the same rationale of flexible retirement options, the Default Retirement Age [DRA] was abolished in 2011 (Maltby, 2011), making an unjustified fixed retirement age unlawful. The new rules make it easier for people to choose when and how to retire and make it harder for employers to retire someone on the grounds of age.

Vickerstaff *et al.* (2008) highlight measures to promote better occupational health, which indirectly have an impact on extending the working life (see also DWP/DH, 2005). There has been a growing awareness of the impact of work in causing or contributing to physical as well as mental health problems (Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008).

Arising from this, Maltby (2011) emphasises the need to give more attention to occupational health in order to support policies for extending working life, highlighting the Finnish concept of Work Ability (Ilmarinen, 2005). The premise of the Work Ability concept is to encourage employers to 'tailor' work to employees as they age, balancing work and personal resources so individuals can be fit and motivated to work for longer. As part of this 'tailoring' process employers are encouraged to help individuals to evaluate and improve their health, skills and the knowledge required for the job (Ilmarinen, 2005). Maltby (2011) suggests that this approach brings a policy framework which gives emphasis to enhancing the quality of life and the active ageing of individuals.

In addition to the measures described above, the Department for Work and Pensions [DWP] launched the campaign Age Positive aimed at encouraging the employment, development and retention of older workers and changing the stereotypes associated with them. Age Positive provides accessible information on changes in legislation and policies for older workers, and promotes best practice illustrated by real life case studies. However, studies suggest that many organisations have no particular strategies in place to manage an age-diverse workforce (McNair and Flynn 2005; Metcalf and Meadows 2006). A recent report from the Department for Work and Pensions (2011) signals that there is a need to create more awareness of extending working life initiatives, such as the removal of the default retirement age, particularly amongst small and medium-sized enterprises [SMEs]. There is also a need to encourage employers to consider the impact of removing the retirement age and to take actions to implement changes (DWP, 2011).

From the perspective of individuals, many older workers would consider working for longer than they do (Lissenburgh and Smeaton, 2003; Smeaton *et al.*, 2009), however usually on a flexible or part-time basis (Smeaton *et al.*, 2009). In previous studies it emerged that even though many would consider some form of paid or unpaid work after formal retirement, there were clear differences between those with

more qualified or higher income occupations and those from unskilled, routine jobs with poor qualifications (McNair, 2006). The variation in experiences of these groups affects their attitudes, retirement behaviour and work expectations. Policies encouraging people to work for longer should be effective in addressing the needs of people from different backgrounds and circumstances (McNair, 2006). Vickerstaff (2010:873) highlights the inconsistencies found in survey data: *'people express positive attitudes towards work, but when invited to analyse their current employment, a significant minority tend to be much more negative'*. This indicates that even though individuals might have a positive attitude towards the idea of working for longer, when faced with the idea of continuing in their current jobs within the same work conditions as before, the prospect of working for longer becomes less attractive (Smeaton *et al.*, 2009; Vickerstaff, 2010).

The idea of working for longer may hold limited appeal for some groups of workers (Hedges *et al.*, 2009). Vickerstaff *et al.* (2008) found that people believe it should be down to the individual to choose if they want to work for longer or retire, regardless of whether or not they have reached a certain age. Government policy changes such as raising the SPA, offering state pension deferral and enacting age discrimination legislation have been perceived by the public with a degree of cynicism (Vickerstaff *et al.* 2008; Hedges *et al.*, 2009; Vickerstaff, 2010). Hedges *et al.* (2009) argue that it is necessary to build up a positive retirement culture where individuals take more interest in how and when they will retire. Most individuals, in order to build adequate retirement finance, will find that working for longer is part of this process (Hedges *et al.*, 2009).

The issues regarding policies to extend the working life include the availability of jobs and the availability of different work arrangements. Hedges *et al.* (2009) argue that encouraging older workers to stay in the labour force for longer involves making people feel better about their options and creating the opportunities for these options to be exercised. If these opportunities are limited and hard to access, individuals

might feel cheated, resentful and not inclined to stay in work longer than they must (Hedges *et al.*, 2009). The current climate of economic recession, which has weakened the argument that an experienced workforce would profit from a skills shortage (Taylor, 2010; Vickerstaff, 2010), raises doubts as to whether there will be jobs available to accommodate both older and younger workers in the future. Moreover, this also questions whether or not employers will be able to offer flexible working arrangements in order to encourage older employees to stay for longer. Other roles rather than work, such as caring responsibilities, might create difficulties for people to stay in employment, as many might not be able to be accommodated by flexible working options. Health factors are the main reasons reported for early retirement, especially among the lower economic groups (Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008; Maltby, 2011), indicating that unless working practices change dramatically, it will be hard for some individuals to be able to continue in the labour force.

Retirement policies in Brazil - the expansion of state pensions and the rising pension age

One of the greatest public policy challenges in Brazil is the rapidly ageing population and as the country has a very high level of inequality and poverty, the distribution of pensions is a priority for public policy. A number of reforms to the Brazilian welfare system have been slowly put in place. The 2008/2009 report published by the Brazilian Ministry of Social Welfare points out that while the necessary changes to the system do not need to be rushed, they are unavoidable in order to meet the demands of the next generations (MPS, 2009). The structure of the Brazilian welfare benefit system includes: (1) a general welfare policy for private sector, rural and domestic workers; (2) public servants/military welfare policies; (3) complementary private pension schemes. In addition to these, the government offers social assistance welfare for individuals below the poverty line (MPS, 2009).

Until recently, the focus was mainly on expanding the coverage of the pension system in order to control poverty in old age. From 1988 to 2001 a process started of expanding the public pension system and this initiative proved moderately successful in relieving poverty, particularly in rural areas (Pineiro, 2002). In 2001, the number of benefits paid doubled compared to pre-1988, indicating a movement towards a more inclusive system (Pineiro, 2002). MPS (2009) highlights that today, 28.7 million people have no contributory links to the welfare system; nevertheless, some of these people still receive some kind of benefit. Many individuals - at the age of 65 for men and 60 for women - draw a minimum state pension regardless of any contribution (Amaro, 2011). Even though the state has increased the benefits given, contributions to the system have declined dramatically, particularly when compared to the relative decline in labour force participation (Queiroz, 2006). The increase of informal over formal employment working practices (Queiroz, 2006), and the fact that nearly 60% of the private sector are not yet contributing to the state pension system (Pineiro, 2002), adds more pressure to the country's social welfare system. MPS (2009) estimates that 15.7 million people could contribute to the welfare system, since they have sufficient income, are in the job market and are of adequate age. The motivations for these workers not to participate are various and include lack of information or awareness about the importance of the protection of welfare, the existence of barriers to inclusion in the welfare system and insufficient monitoring from the government (as contributing is compulsory). Different measures are being designed and carried out to encourage contribution and participation to social welfare (MPS, 2009).

Increasing the level of contributions by extending working lives has also been a strategy adopted by the Brazilian government. From the mid 1990s, policies to avoid early retirement started to be discussed and put in place. In 1999 a new methodology to calculate pensions was approved. This so called 'welfare factor' aims to reduce incentives for early retirement (Queiroz, 2007). Amaro (2011) highlights the

importance of this as a first step towards a reform of the pension system. Currently, the government is talking about setting a minimum age for drawing pension in order to discourage early access to state pension and therefore contributing to balancing the welfare coffers (Amaro, 2011). Recently in the Brazilian press, unions have expressed their disapproval of a set minimum retirement age, claiming poorer people start to contribute earlier and therefore should be allowed to retire relatively earlier as well (see *Valor econômico*, 17th August 2011). Discussions between the Federal government and unions also include the possibility of abolishing the 'welfare factor' for a different strategy to calculate workers' benefits. To date there have been no changes to the calculation of benefits or a defined minimum retirement age.

Among other government policies, changing the rules related to public sector welfare for the past decade has been in the government's plan to better even out pension distributions and create a sustainable system (MPS, 2009). In 2003, the Brazilian government started to address the disparities between public sector and private sector welfare and pensions (MPS, 2009). The Welfare Reform of 2003 included: (1) benefit calculations to discourage the early retirement of public servants, similar to the general welfare policy (private sector), (2) a benefit cap to public servants' pensions, and (3) an increase of the pension cap for individuals retiring from the private sector (under the general welfare system) (MPS, 2009). For public sector workers, early retirement behaviour mirrored that of developed economies. In 1988, the average age of retirement for the public sector was 49 years (Glomm *et al.*, 2006). Brazil's public servants' pension is known to be one of the most generous in the world. Public sector pensioners account for about 5% of all pensioners, yet they receive about 50% of the value of all pension payments (Glomm *et al.*, 2006). Public sector workers, after taking early retirement, usually move to work in the private sector as the law allows full employment in retirement without discounting the pension. Individuals with more than one public sector job are allowed to accumulate the pension from different jobs (Glomm *et al.*, 2006; Amaro 2011). Glomm *et al.* (2006) argue that the reform of the

public sector is still controversial and it finds resistance. Recent publications in the Brazilian national media point out that further changes to the pensions of public servants have been discussed and if these changes are approved, they are likely to lower the amount of pension received in the future by public sector pensioners (see *Jornal Estadão*, Economy section, 22nd November 2011).

It is argued that the much publicised deficit in Brazilian public welfare does not exist (Gentil, 2007). Gentil (2007) argues that calculations presented by the government neglect various other taxes which were created to contribute to the funding of the social welfare system. The inclusion of these other taxes which have been left out would transform the equation between contributions and benefits paid from deficit to surplus. One may argue that the argument of the deficit of the social welfare system may not be valid to justify changes to the welfare system – such as the policies for extending the working life, increasing contributions and penalizing early retirees. However, it is a fact that Brazil is facing demographic changes as its population is ageing and this will inevitably make further reforms necessary (MPS, 2009).

The challenges for the welfare system in Brazil today are: (1) to reduce poverty by expanding welfare coverage, encouraging participation in the welfare system and monitoring the legality of employment; (2) to increase the sustainability of the pension system as the population ages by reforming public servant welfare policies, discouraging early retirement and extending the working life in general.

CONCLUSION

Work and retirement policies in Brazil and the UK address the same issue of retirement sustainability. A number of policies aim to promote different approaches to life in retirement and to encourage work. These policies also promote more contributions to pension schemes, particularly in the case of Brazil where many

individuals are completely uncovered. However, due to socio-economical differences the approach to issues and policies is taking a slightly different direction.

In the UK there is a focus on promoting employment in order to raise labour force participation and bringing people back to work seems to be the answer to long term issues. The assumption that there will be jobs to accommodate both younger and older workers is ambitious. Whatever the scenario, the reasons why people take early retirement should be considered carefully. The accumulation of different advantages and disadvantages from earlier in life might have an impact on an early exit from the workforce and are not necessarily easy to address. For instance, health issues associated with early retirement cannot be addressed in the short term. Poor health usually has long term causes as individuals accumulate disadvantages over the years. Other events in the life course affecting individuals' work and retirement are difficult to control and predict. The complexity of the transition to retirement might be a barrier to the success of these policies.

In Brazil, labour force participation is relatively high and the decline over the years is far from alarming. It is not a surprise that in a country of inequalities, some individuals have to work as long as they can to make ends meet. Early retirement concerns in Brazil are usually associated with public sector workers, as they have, comparatively, benefited from generous pension and flexible rules regarding retirement. Professionals and unskilled workers are the ones that remain in the labour force for the longest (Queiroz, 2007). For the former it is usually for the satisfaction associated with their professional practice, for the latter it is out of necessity. The cumulative advantage of certain groups and the disadvantage of others are evident in the case of Brazil. Social mobility over the life course is virtually non-existent. The early drawing of pension became a recent topic of discussion among policy makers, however there is no definite direction yet as to what actions the current government will take.

The main policy focus in Brazil has been on promoting better coverage of the pension system to prevent acute poverty in old age in the future. One of the challenges is to create conditions for informal and self-employed workers to contribute to the system and acquire the rights for a basic retirement pension. The current global financial climate brings further challenges for addressing the issues related to retirement and work for older people. Even though Brazil has been going through a period of economic growth, it is difficult to assume that this growth will generate more opportunities for formal employment, especially for older workers. In Brazil the challenge is not only keeping the labour force participation high but also ensuring that informal work is eradicated. In these times of uncertainty, the question is whether these policies will be realistic and relevant for the whole population.

Exploring these trends in policies and practices in retirement in the context of this study brings to light the ways in which retirement may evolve for academics as an occupational group. Interestingly, one can assume that among academics there is a clear scope for the implementation of policies to extend the working life, including the opportunity to offer alternative work arrangements such as flexible or part-time contracts or phased/gradual retirement, which may accommodate the desires and the fitness of older academics. In order to be able to understand how these policy changes could be implemented it is also important to understand academics as an occupational group, the experience of retired academics and their expectations, their desire for a continuity of their professional identity and the possible determinants for their retirement outcomes. Over the next chapters in this literature review, these points will be explored to better inform this study.

In this chapter, policies related to the retirement of older workers and labour force participation were discussed. Exploring data from OECD countries, the impact of demographic change on retirement policies and practices were discussed. Retirement policies and practices specific to the UK and Brazil were explored in more detail to

better contextualise the possible impact on the retirement of Brazilian and UK academics.

The next chapter will explore the experience and transition to retirement, including a brief review of theories of adjustment to old age and retirement. An emphasis will be given to Atchley's (1999) Continuity Theory and to a life course approach in understanding retirement.

CHAPTER THREE - Adjustment to retirement

INTRODUCTION

THEORIES OF AGEING

THE INDIVIDUALISATION OF THE RETIREMENT EXPERIENCE

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter an overview of current trends in the employment and retirement of older workers was explored. Recent retirement policies and practices in Brazil and the UK were discussed with a view to giving the context of retirement in these two countries. How recent policy trends, such as extending the working life, may affect the retirement of academics particularly in terms of professional activity in retirement was also examined. This study considers whether or not academics seek and achieve continuity in retirement, how this impacts on life satisfaction and the extent to which academic retirees can control their retirement transition in the context of the academic environment from which they are likely to draw their identities. To achieve these aims, and to review retirement policies and practices, it is important to assess how individuals make sense of retirement and age-related changes.

In this chapter, the process of transition and adaptation to retirement will be explored. As highlighted by Hirsch (2003), the transition from full-time work to retirement, whether it happens as a gradual process or an abrupt interruption of one's working life, can raise difficult issues for the individual. With that assumption in mind this chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section aims to explore theories of ageing from the field of social gerontology, with a focus on theories that emphasise continuity as this is a particular interest of this study. The second section focuses on how the transition to retirement has been evolving and moving from a predictable to an individualised experience, and on the possible implications for retired academics' professional activities and sense of continuity in retirement.

THEORIES OF AGEING

Social theories of ageing emerged in the USA and the UK during the early post-war period when the government was concerned about the consequences of demographic

changes and a potential shortage of younger workers (Biggs and Powell, 2001). Over the same period, social gerontology appeared as a multidisciplinary field of study which attempted to respond to these implications, in particular in respect of health, social and economic policy. Phillipson (1998) points out that social gerontology was shaped by external forces such as the social political and economic environment which perceived ageing in western societies in general as a 'social problem' rather than a potential gain for society.

This section starts by exploring two functionalist theories, Activity and Disengagement Theory, developed to address concerns over adjustment to ageing. These theories focused on addressing the issues of social integration in old age and the individual's adjustment to society as they age, while ignoring the social structure's influence on individuals' experiences of ageing (Phillipson and Baars, 2007). In addition to this, functionalists viewed old age as a separate stage of life, distinct from that of midlife (Phillipson and Baars, 2007).

Following this, theories which perceive old age in the context of the life course will be discussed. Life course perspectives move away from the functionalist views to embrace the idea that old age is to certain extent a consequence of individuals' life experiences in early and midlife, with its outcomes influenced by individual's biography and historical context (Elder, 1974; Phillipson and Baars, 2007). Taking a different approach, Continuity Theory and Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage Theory develop the idea that the experience of ageing represents a continuation of earlier stages of life. Due to the particular interest in continuity and the influence of life course events on retirement outcomes, these two theories will be further explored separately in this section.

Disengagement Theory and Activity Theory

Functionalism was the dominant paradigm in post-war sociology, and was reflected in the main social theories applied to ageing in the 1950s and 1960s. Two contrasting theoretical models were developed: one focused on maintaining older people active within society and the other accepting and justifying their withdrawal from mainstream social roles (Estes *et al.*, 2003; Biggs, 2006; Phillipson and Baars, 2007). Activity and Disengagement Theories, the focus of gerontologists in the 1950s and 1960s (Powell, 2001), were a response to the idea that older people represent a social problem, as they are non-productive members of the society (Estes *et al.*, 2003). These two theories postulate not only how individual behaviour changes with ageing, but also imply how it should change, reflecting the normative nature of these two theories (Powell, 2001).

Activity Theory, a sub-set of role theory, suggests that the self conceptions of individuals are influenced by the social roles they perform and their relationships with others (Diehl and Dark-Freudeman, 2006). Life satisfaction in old age is seen to be dependent on the active maintenance of social relationships and the continuing involvement in meaningful pursuits (Achenbaum, 2009). Knapp (1977) explains that the theory assumes that as individuals pass from middle to old age, their role requirements and the demands upon themselves and society remain fairly stable. Havighurst (1968) clarifies that except for unavoidable health and biological changes, older and middle aged people are the same in terms of psychological and social needs. For individuals, old age leads to the loss of roles and relationships, therefore, in order to maintain a positive image of self it is necessary for older people to keep as socially active as possible, as a way to replace old roles and relationships with new ones (Diehl and Dark-Freudeman, 2006).

Activity Theory has been criticised for ignoring health and economic differences which may affect the desire or opportunity some elders have to engage in different activities, familiar or new (Achenbaum, 2009). Diehl and Dark-Freudeman (2006) also point out

that the Activity Theory focuses more on the quantity of social activities rather than their quality. Künemund and Kolland (2007) point out that only those activities that are psychologically relevant seem to result in the sense of satisfaction with life. In addition to this, in the literature there is evidence that the quality of relationships is more important than the quantity of contact (Lang, 2001).

The ideas around the relationship between activity and life satisfaction were pursued in a variety of ways over the 1950s and 1960s (Phillipson and Baars, 2007). Eventually, however, a new approach emerged in the form of Disengagement Theory, as developed by Cumming and Henry (1961). They outline their theory in their book 'Growing Old', and its argument was developed from the empirical data from the 'Kansas City Study of Adult Life', where several people were selected and interviewed over a number of years, from middle to old age. Disengagement Theory, as with Activity Theory, worked within the functionalist paradigm, and focused on the way in which social institutions encourage a process of disengagement for the benefit of the individual and society (Phillipson and Baars, 2007). Disengagement Theory puts forward the view that *'ageing is an inevitable, mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction between the ageing person and others in the social system he belongs to'* (Cumming & Henry, 1961:227). Cummins and Henry (1961) claim that the prospect of scarcity of time and shortness of life, or in other words, proximity to death, would lead individuals to start the process of disengagement. The authors claim that both society and individuals should be ready for disengagement in order that this process can happen successfully (Cumming and Henry, 1961).

However, this mutual desire for disengagement is not often the case. If the society wants to release an individual from a specific role, e.g. work, before they are ready to go, or the individual wishes to disengage from a role but society is not ready for that individual to go, complications may arise. Unilateral disengagement may lead the individual to reduced life satisfaction (Cumming and Henry, 1961; Diehl and Dark-Freudeman, 2006).

Achenbaum (2009) points out the immediate controversy caused by this theory as it described modalities as if they were universal, unidirectional and innate; regardless of differences in race, ethnicity, gender and class (see also, Hochschild, 1975, Achenbaum and Bengtson, 1994). In addition to pointing out generalisations and disregard for individual differences (Achenbaum, 2009), critics of Disengagement Theory also challenged its findings by pointing to contrary evidence and highlighting methodological weaknesses (Achenbaum and Bengtson, 1994). Baars *et al.* (2006) question the logic behind the disengagement hypothesis in concluding that the tendencies for social disengagement were an indication of human nature whilst ignoring its study population's social context.

Achenbaum and Bengtson (1994) argue that Disengagement Theory had virtually disappeared from the empirical literature on ageing by the mid-1970s. Estes and associates (2001) highlight that even though among researchers on ageing the Disengagement Theory is no longer widely accepted, its influence is still apparent in policy arena. Disengagement Theory provided a theoretical rationale for implementing the trend of early retirement in private or public sector institutions that have been promoted over the past decades. Furthermore, an acceptance of Disengagement Theory can still be observed in social security and retirement policies (Estes and associates, 2001).

Both Disengagement and Activity Theory played an important role in the development of later theories about the characteristics of social ageing (Diehl and Dark-Freudeman, 2006). Disengagement Theory was particularly influential in the USA, while in the European context Activity Theory was the main influence (Phillipson and Baars, 2007). Activity theory and Disengagement Theory could be viewed as attempts to explore – in different ways – the basis of successful ageing. Both addressed, again with different points of emphasis, the causes and consequences of role loss in later life. Phillipson and Baars (2007) argue that both theories played a role in reinforcing the idea that growing old leads to a discontinuity from prior involvements and experiences;

emphasising the ideas from the 'social problem perspective' that an ageing person, experiencing a physical and mental decline, becomes unable to offer a valuable contribution to their changing social environment.

Eventually, both Disengagement Theory and Activity Theory gave way to other ways of thinking about old age (Achenbaum, 2009). Whilst these theories had emphasised the 'discontinuities' between the middle and later phases of the life course, new theories explored different elements of continuity during periods of transition from work and retirement. The idea of 'continuity' has particular importance for this thesis and is examined in the following sections.

Continuity Theory and adjustment to ageing

Atchley (1972, 1999) proposed a theory of human development that emphasised continuities of individual experiences as a way to learn and adapt to change (Achenbaum, 2009). Continuity of ideas and lifestyle from middle life onwards could be seen as a common adaptive strategy to life changes in later life. Continuity Theory was developed to understand adjustment processes in later life (Atchley, 1999). Continuity means that general life patterns - i.e. activities, ideas, place of living, personal values - remain consistent throughout later life by being absolutely unchanged or by presenting only minor fluctuations (Atchley, 1999). Atchley (1989) differentiates continuity theory from activity theory by claiming that the latter was essentially a homeostatic or equilibrium model whereas continuity theory assumes evolution, allowing change to be integrated into individuals' lives without causing disturbance or disequilibrium. For Atchley (1989), the degrees of continuity experienced by individuals are classified as 'too little', 'too much' and 'optimum continuity': 'too much' continuity can make life appear too predictable for the individual; 'too little' characterises discontinuity.

'Optimum continuity means that the individual sees the pace and degree of change to be in line with personal preferences and social demands and well within her or his coping capacity.' (Atchley, 1989:185).

Atchley (1971, 1999) assumes that in midlife, individuals experience stability with a consistent pattern of activities, attitudes, etc. This consistent existence provides individuals with the elements needed to build their identities and lifestyle for later life.

'Once the individual has developed a strong sense of self, close personal relationships and a relatively enduring lifestyle, continuity theory can be expected to come into play in explaining their decision making process concerning adaptation to life' (Atchley, 1999:6).

From midlife, individuals' lifestyle patterns, values and beliefs are already consolidated, and these contribute to a sense of continuity (Atchley, 1999). Achenbaum (2009) argues that critics of Continuity Theory point out that it disregards how economical, social and political factors disrupt life trajectories (Cowgill and Holmes, 1972). One may assume that a number of people can manage to have a stable life. At the same time, however, it is necessary to highlight that the context of middle life has changed, in particular with what has been referred to as the 'individualisation of risk' (Vickerstaff and Cox, 2005). Gilleard and Higgs (2005) point out that the stability that was once inherent in the life course has become something to be actively sought and maintained. In midlife, Individuals may experience changes in employment status, family re-configuration, caring responsibilities, new leisure interests and changes in health. Life after the age of 50 becomes more open and offers a greater range of opportunities and risks (Phillipson, 2002). Atchley (1989) defended the validity of Continuity Theory by emphasising that the theory did not assume sameness throughout life, but a consistency and coherence of patterns. He continues explaining that continuity is not opposite to change (Atchley, 1989). It is

acknowledged that continuity and discontinuity co-exist, but continuities tend to significantly outweigh discontinuities (Atchley, 1999).

Atchley (1989) argues that continuity can only be studied in retrospect and the extent to which individuals experience continuity is determined by an individual's personal assessment of their current circumstances as compared to situations in the past. The individuals' mental framework or personal constructs (Kelley, 1955) hold the standards which will lead them to perceive or not the experience of continuity. Atchley (1989, 1999) suggests that this mental framework, shaped by our life experiences, will play a role in helping the individual make consistent choices. In addition to this, people tend to use consistent coping strategies throughout their lives. The degree of the change and the knowledge of such changes are going to contribute to the ease of adjustment. Age-related changes tend to be gradual; thus the adaptation process can be planned and carefully put into action. In these cases, it is easier to maintain continuity and there is a reduced chance of a life crisis (Atchley, 1999).

In the Ohio Longitudinal Study of Ageing and Adaptation [OLSAA], Atchley (1999) found that even though people might disengage from some activities, lifestyles tend toward minor fluctuations rather than dramatic shifts. Keeping a consistent life and a consistent self assists adaptation to the physical and social limitations of the ageing process. Atchley (1999) emphasises that Continuity Theory studies the extent to which people make life decisions motivated by a desire for continuity rather than whether people have or do not have continuity. He further argues that the desire for continuity should be distinguished from that of rigidity (Atchley, 1999). Continuity Theory makes a distinction between 'internal' and 'external' continuities. It is emphasised that continuity is experienced in the psychological, behavioural and sociological level – integrating all aspects of one's life (Atchley, 1999; Atchley, 2009).

Internal continuity is perceived by the individual in relation to remembered inner structures, such as a personal constructs, structure of ideas, temperament,

experiences, preferences, dispositions and skills. Internal continuity requires memory to evaluate if 'here and now' is consistent with the established internal framework (Atchley, 1989).

During adulthood individuals develop theories about themselves, initially through feedback from significant others (Kelley, 1955). Over time, as the amount of data about the self and opportunities for observation increases, personal constructs are consolidated into generalisations which form the core of individuals' identities (Neugarten, 1977; Whitbourne, 1986; Atchley, 1989). Once the ideas that form identity are crystallised sufficiently, external influences and feedback from others will have very little impact on the individuals' identity (Atchley, 1989) and on the individuals' experiences of internal continuity. New components can be easily absorbed and incorporated by an individual's identity (Atchley, 1989). This means that the loss of social roles has less impact on the individual's sense of inner continuity than would be expected by role theorists (Atchley, 1989). As discontinuity can only be defined in relation to personal constructs, many life changes cannot be assumed to cause identity crises automatically (Atchley, 1989). Internal discontinuity may be triggered by poor mental health or terminal conditions, in both cases affecting the individual's perception of self, which might lead an individual to feelings of depression or severe anxiety (Atchley, 1989). Further discussions on internal continuity and psychological aspects of adaptation and adjustment to old age can be found in the Appendix 5.

External continuity is defined in terms of remembered structures of activities, physical and social environments and role relationships. External continuity is experienced by interacting with familiar people, being in familiar environments and practising familiar skills (Atchley, 1989). Even though these patterns can be observed by others, they can only be validated by making reference to the individual's own internal set of ideas about what is applicable to them (Atchley, 1989).

Although external continuity assumes the maintenance of consistent patterns in social roles, activities and physical environments from midlife to old age, Atchley (1989) warns that if individuals insist on certain patterns that are no longer possible, due to ill health, disability or financial circumstances, then this may result in problems in adjusting to ageing. However, often individuals can concentrate their efforts on maintaining continuity in domains of higher satisfaction, usually the ones where their strengths lie, and avoiding their areas of weaknesses (Atchley 1989, see also Baltes, 1997).

Cumulative advantage/disadvantage and the life course

Atchley's Continuity Theory (1989, 1999), largely emphasises positive aspects to continuity, arguing that a continuity of ideas and lifestyle from middle to late life is a common and desirable adaptive strategy to change. Studies on inequality in old age, however, explore continuities in terms of an individual's accumulation of advantages and disadvantages over the life course, e.g. poor or good health, availability or lack of financial resources, etc (Crystal and Shea, 1990; O'Rand, 1996; Dannefer, 2003; Ferraro *et al.*, 2009). How the lives of individuals unfold, taking into consideration their accumulation of advantages and disadvantages, is the main focus of this approach to the study of later life (e.g. Crystal and Shea, 1990; O'Rand, 1996; Dannefer, 2003; Ferraro *et al.*, 2009). O'Rand suggests that:

'This is a lifecourse explanation highlighting the influences of earlier lives that anchor diverse trajectories in old age. (...). The inequality of aged populations is not an instantaneous phenomenon, nor is it the simple averaged culmination of life decisions made by individuals living in identical social circumstances over time; rather, inequality is a product (interaction) of institutional arrangements and aggregated individual actions overtime.' (1996:232)

Phillipson and Baars (2007) argue that rather than focusing solely on the individual's life course, the Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage [CAD] concept focuses on growing old as a collective process of intra-cohort stratification. Over the life course, social processes allow the accumulation of advantage for some whilst resulting in disadvantage for others. Dannefer (2003) explains that the concept of cumulative advantages and disadvantages resonates with ideas that 'the rich get richer' and 'the poor get poorer' – pointing out how inequality may become more evident as individuals get older.

Ferraro *et al.* (2009) in their theory of cumulative inequality elaborate upon processes of advantage and disadvantage and the effects of their accumulation in terms of risks and opportunities:

'The distinction between advantage and disadvantage is also important because most people will simultaneously hold positions of advantage and disadvantage across life domains.' (Ferraro *et al.* 2009:422)

Ferraro *et al.* (2009) suggest that cumulative advantage is not opposite to disadvantage; someone can be both economically advantaged and at the same time disadvantaged in terms of health status. Disadvantage leads to more exposure to risk and advantage offers access to opportunities. However, Pearlin *et al.* (2005) highlight that disadvantage may spill-over from one life domain to another, e.g. poor health might lead to economic disadvantage, in the same way that economic disadvantage might lead to poor health.

Bourdieu (1996) argues that inequality is generated systematically and is therefore difficult to eliminate. However, Ferraro *et al.* (2009) argue that the effects of cumulative advantage or disadvantage should not be taken as unavoidable. Even though it is difficult to overstate the influence of structural forces and early advantages and disadvantages, human agency should not be ignored (Hitlin and Elder, 2007; Ferraro *et al.*, 2009). Social context and human agency may transform

apparent disadvantage into beneficial effects (Thoits, 2006; Ferraro *et al.*, 2009). Ferraro *et al.* (2009) also argue that resource mobilisation may alter life course trajectories of disadvantage, diverting individuals from the anticipated consequences of a chain of risk. Although, for some individuals accumulative disadvantage may work as a motivator to overcome hardship and achieve a better life, for most people it leads to more exposure to risk and more established structural disadvantage (Ferraro *et al.*, 2009).

How accumulative advantage and disadvantage translate into individuals' life outcomes, is also dependent on the cultural/national context. Dannefer (2003) points out that cross-cultural studies have demonstrated how tendencies towards cumulative advantage and disadvantage may vary systematically between societies, demonstrating differences in economic and welfare state policies. Using the World Bank's latest Gini coefficient index (World Bank, 2011) to compare inequality levels in Brazil and the UK, a higher level of inequality can be seen in Brazil (Gini 0.547) than the UK (Gini 0.36) [Gini coefficient is a measure of the inequality of a distribution and its values range from 0 to 1. The 0 value represents complete equality whereas a score of 1.0 represents complete inequality]. Early disadvantages, like access to basic education - adult illiteracy in Brazil is as high as 10% whereas in the UK this figure is only 1% (United Nations Development Program, 2009) - poor education standards, inconsistent access to state resources and limited opportunities for social mobility (Beghin, 2008) give an indication that the inequality generated through the accumulation of advantage and disadvantage might be much more evident in Brazil than in the UK. From the perspective of Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage Theory, ageing not only happens to the individual, but also to collectivities (Dannefer, 2003), involving processes within individuals and also between individuals within the context of social environments (Dannefer, 1999; Phillipson and Baars, 2007). Understanding the national/cultural context of ageing is particularly relevant when comparing Brazil and the UK, as average incomes in retirement and labour force

participation are quite often misleading when used to illustrate policies and practices related to work and retirement if the context is not considered.

Crystal (2006), consistent with Atchley's ideas (1989, 1999), argues that even though early disadvantages and advantages such as parental status and formal education may have a long persisting influence on individuals' lives, events and resources accumulated in midlife have a more direct impact on retirement and old age. Some studies on the experience of retirement also indicate that events in midlife, internal or external to the individual, may have a direct impact on retirement (Phillipson, 2002; Vickerstaff, 2006). The experience of retirement will be explored further in the next section.

THE INDIVIDUALISATION OF THE RETIREMENT EXPERIENCE

The previous section explored theoretical perspectives in social gerontology with a focus on a number of explanations concerning adjustment in the move from work to retirement. This section considers the extent to which the transition to retirement itself influences experiences of continuity and discontinuity. As reviewed in Chapter Two, retirement practices are affected by the social-economic context: as contextual circumstances change, the way people experience retirement will also change. Hirsch (2003) highlighted that for much of the 20th century there was a degree of certainty about retirement, at least in the case of men. Individuals had the expectation that at a specific age they would stop working, be supported by a pension and enter a period of leisure. However, in practice, this was not the case for many people (Hirsch, 2003). The transition from work to retirement has been changing from a predictable and standardised process to an unpredictable and individualised experience (Phillipson, 2002; Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Vickerstaff and Cox, 2005). Vickerstaff and Cox (2005) point out that the retirement experience and associated transitions have now

become so individualised that is difficult to predict and generalise about this phase in the life course.

McNair (2006) identified a number of different groups with varying possibilities for choice and control over their working life and retirement. He further suggested four factors influencing work and retirement possibilities in later life: (1) qualifications, (2) income, (3) occupational level and (4) gender. The groups he found were (see also Loretto *et al.*, 2005): first, those with higher qualifications and better occupational positions with greater control over work and retirement; second, women with caring responsibilities and a pattern of part-time employment likely to constrain choices and possibilities over retirement; third, those with the lowest qualifications and least control over work and retirement and more likely to retire through ill-health or redundancy or to continue to work to make ends meet (Loretto *et al.*, 2005; McNair, 2006). Loretto *et al.* (2005) also suggested a fourth group comprising individuals out of the labour force either due to unemployment or health and disability.

The first and third groups are well-documented in the Brazilian literature where a similar pattern of certain groups having more scope for choice in retirement can be found (Queiroz, 2007). All these findings are consistent with the ideas of Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage, indicating that early differences in individuals' lives, such as occupational 'choices' have a major impact on differences in retirement outcomes.

Changes during midlife can have a significant influence over later life. It can be argued that the experience of retirement is to some extent a consequence of midlife (Phillipson, 2002; Crystal, 2006; Vickerstaff, 2006). However, midlife is no longer a linear period. People may experience changes in family life, earlier retirement, the work environment and personal relationships. Life after 50, it is suggested, has become more open, offering a greater range of opportunities as well as risks (Phillipson, 2002). Gilleard and Higgs (2005) argue that working life has lost its

importance as an organising structure for the lifecourse. Working life is more flexible and less stable; stability has to be fought over if it is to be preserved (Gilleard and Higgs, 2005). The same can be observed with regard to the family, in that as a result of changes in configurations, this has declined in importance as a source of social integration (Phillipson, 2002; Phillipson and Smith 2005). For men and women in their fifties, work-related identities are being replaced by those shaped by a number of non-economic related activities. This is due to the increasing importance of leisure activities, volunteering and personal networks to the detriment of work (Phillipson, 2002).

Retirement is a desirable goal for many (Atchley, 1982; Phillipson, 2002), being seen as an opportunity to enjoy the 'third age' by engaging in a number of leisure activities (Scale and Scase, 2001; Phillipson and Smith, 2005). For people after the age of fifty, employment is declining and expectations of retirement are rising, which reflects pressures in the workplace and a desire for leisure time (Phillipson, 2002). Job mobility declines with age, however 85% of people after the age of 50 experience some job change within a period of 5 years. These changes tend to be a positive experience for those with higher qualifications, with higher incomes and occupational status and not so positive for unqualified workers (McNair, 2006). Among people that experience unemployment after the age of 50, the large majority tend to retire rather than register as unemployed (OECD, 2006).

McNair (2006) found in his research that among those economically active, the older they get the more attached they get to work. The reverse was found among the inactive – the older they are, the less likely they will go back to work. Some people find in work a source of personal development that makes them want to stay engaged for longer, others will have their development attached to other activities, either because they had desire for other involvements or were compelled to find them.

Vickerstaff (2006) argues that when the individual enters the 'retirement zone', i.e. the period between the earliest and the latest someone can retire, he or she brings a particular set of individual circumstances and dispositions (Vickerstaff, 2006). These can include issues of health, finance, domestic circumstances, job satisfaction and non-work life interests. All of these issues can influence the timing of retirement. At the same time, the individual also faces specific organisational pressures, either to take early retirement, to continue working until the retirement age or beyond. Whenever retirement happens, how individuals make the transition to retirement is a result of these various forces within the retirement zone (Vickerstaff, 2006).

The concept of the retirement zone opens up a number of issues: to what extent can retirement be controlled by the individual? Which groups are more likely to make choices and decisions regarding their retirement? What are the elements that can change the course of retirement? The literature highlights that having choice and control over the working life and retirement has a positive relationship with personal well-being and retirement satisfaction (Phillipson and Smith, 2005; McNair, 2006; Vickerstaff, 2006). Dannefer and Kelley-Moore (2009) comment that most people's behaviours are assumed to be a product of 'choice', and often, studies do not take into consideration the constraints in which choices have taken place. In the 'retirement zone' described by Vickerstaff (2006) a combination of factors, both controlled and out of individuals' control, are considered. However, this can be said to only partially explain the individualised retirement outcomes. A life course perspective might be necessary to understand how events in early life can impact on old age and retirement.

Other elements can influence the timing of retirement and the desire to continue working formally after retirement. Davies and Cartwright (2011) point out that the product of the relationship between retirement expectation, whether this is positive or negative, and work commitment, whether this is high or low, gives an indication as to whether individuals are likely to retire early or work for longer. Phillipson (2002)

points out that early retirement can be motivated by career-related dissatisfactions, including organisational hierarchical systems and career limitations. Frustration related to the organisation or related to the career may lead individuals to perceive continuity as an undesirable rather than a desirable perspective. Atchley (1993, 1999) points out that continuity can be external or internal, which means that a professional can still see himself as a professional without being involved in any professionally related activities. Decisions with regard to the timing of retirement and the way retirement is experienced cannot be said to be strictly a matter of choice, but a combination of choice and possibilities. Professionals with higher status and income are more likely to negotiate, choose and control retirement options (Loretto *et al.*, 2005; McNair, 2006; Vickerstaff, 2006; see also Queiroz, 2007).

CONCLUSION

As theories of ageing and adjustment to retirement progressed from emphasising discontinuity (e.g. Activity and Disengagement Theories) to continuity (Continuity Theory and Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage Theory), debates over the impact of changes experienced in midlife on retirement outcomes became more relevant. In the Continuity Theory section explored in this chapter there is a clear connection between patterns established in midlife and the continuity experienced in later life, regardless of this continuity being positive, such as lifestyle, or negative, such as poor health. However, as the previous section points out, midlife is becoming more fluid, open and flexible. While for some this may represent greater opportunities, for others this might lead to a greater degree of discontinuity. This change of paradigm with regard to the stability of midlife and how it may potentially impact on professional continuity in retirement becomes a key aspect to be explored according to the aims of this study.

Considering the literature reviewed, the subjects of this study, male academics, hold relatively more choice over the retirement experience, tending to find themselves in the first group described by McNair (2006). This group is more likely to stay in work or take early retirement for positive reasons (Loreto *et al.*, 2005; McNair, 2006; Queiroz, 2007). Usually, with a relatively high level of control over their working life, this group is likely to have a positive experience of work, making work an attractive activity even in retirement. However - similar to individuals from other occupational groups - contextual differences (such as differences in the academic environment in Brazil and the UK) and individual differences (such as differences in universities' contracts, discipline, status, or personal circumstances), are likely to impact on retirement outcomes. These differences accumulated throughout their academic careers as advantages or disadvantages are almost certain to contribute to the individualisation of their retirement experience (Vickerstaff and Cox, 2005).

This study aims to explore the transition to retirement for academics and the elements that contribute to a better adjustment to retirement and satisfaction with life, with a particular emphasis on continuities and discontinuities related to professional activity. In order to achieve this it will be necessary to take a life course perspective to make sense of how people's biographies may shape experiences in later life, especially how professional and personal changes experienced in midlife may have had an impact on the transition to retirement.

In this chapter the transition process and the adaptation and the experience of retirement have been explored. Disengagement and Activity Theories were described, their criticisms were discussed and their contribution to current research in ageing were summarised. Further to this, two theories emphasising the idea of old age as part of the life course were explored: Atchley's Continuity Theory (1989, 1999) and Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage Theory. The final section of this chapter discusses the experience of retirement and retirement outcomes for different groups. Some specific features regarding academics were introduced.

In the next chapter, the academic occupation – its professional status, academic environment, national context and work arrangements – will be discussed in detail. Some points of similarity and differences which may affect retirement experience and outcomes will be highlighted.

CHAPTER FOUR - Universities and academics in Brazil and the UK

INTRODUCTION

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY FORMATION

ACADEMICS AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

THE EXPANSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRAZIL AND THE UK

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, theories relating to the experience of retirement and adjustment to ageing were discussed. The areas covered included questions relating to continuity and discontinuity in retirement, the 'individualisation' of the experience of retirement and the impact of life course events on experiences of retirement including the effects of accumulative advantages and disadvantages on retirement outcomes. As previously discussed, life course changes and the advantages and disadvantages accumulated over time will almost certainly affect the experience of retirement. It could be argued that some occupational groups are better able to accumulate more advantages such as health and financial status and opportunities for flexible work, among others advantages and therefore have more choice and control over retirement outcomes (Loretto *et al.* 2005; McNair, 2006). It could also be said that some individuals find a strong sense of satisfaction and purpose from work, remaining engaged in their occupation for longer and even continuing their work following retirement (McKay and Smeaton, 2003; Meadows, 2003).

One of the purposes of this thesis is to examine the influence of experiences throughout the life course on later life outcomes through studying the retirement experience of academics. However, this may be better understood if there is clarity regarding the meaning of being an academic and the current academic context both in Brazil and the UK. A study of retirement inevitably must include understanding the relationship between people and their occupation. Atchley (2000:240) makes the point here that: '*Understanding retirement thus involves understanding the nature of the links between people and their jobs*'. This chapter aims to address the relationship between academics, academia and academic work, exploring the meaning of professional activity for academics and the academic environment from which Brazilian and UK academics derive their identities.

This chapter is divided into two main parts: an examination of the professional identity of university academics and then a review of the academic environment in Brazil and the UK. The first part starts by exploring the sociology of professionals and its impact on shaping professional identity. Further to this, discussions specific from academics' professional status and identity will be reviewed. Following this, the second part will explore the context of academia in Brazil and the UK, including an overview on types of institutions and general changes to academia over the recent years, academics' profile, the contractual relationship with institutions and other employment practices.

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY FORMATION

There is little consensus in the literature on the sociology of professions regarding what it actually means to be a professional. Some authors avoid giving a definition of a profession and instead list relevant occupational groups (Evetts, 2003). Farrugia (1996) argues that traditionally, professional and non professional occupations are differentiated by certain identified attributes; these are held by professionals and lacked by non-professionals. Evetts (2003) questions whether it is useful to define what differentiates between professions and other occupational groups as both share many common characteristics.

Farrugia (1996) further points out that the traditional concept of professions linked to set attributes of the ideal profession has been replaced by a continuum of professions based on the following criteria:

Occupations which exhibit to a very high degree the characteristics associated with the traditional professions are placed at or close to the "ideal professions" pole. Conversely, occupations such as trades, which obviously lack these characteristics, are placed at the opposite "non-professions" end. Emerging or semi-professions fall in between. (Farrugia, 1996:30)

Turner and Hodge (1970:24) argue that '*prolonged specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge*', and '*collectivity or service orientation*' are largely accepted aspects of professions. Public recognition is a critical aspect for a professional to achieve professional status (Turner and Hodge, 1970). Prestige ratings from the general public are usually related to the level of professionalization in an occupational group; those that are more 'professionalized' achieve a higher status within society (Harries-Jenkins, 1970). Levels of professionalization reflect the status and prestige of a profession, and even though it can be said that professionals form a status group, it is difficult to generalise about their culture and status in society to the extent that they could be classified as a social class (Elliot, 1972).

Traditionally, the autonomy of an independent practice was a feature associated with professions (Elliot, 1972). However, this feature has become less common as more often professionals are employed by organisations. Employed professionals have to fit in with the organisation's goals and these may challenge the level of autonomy that can be exercised. Elliot (1972) associates the choice of an independent practice with more financial risks, as opposed to an employment route which is more constrained but has the stability of a salary. Each of these routes represents different career expectations, the possibility of control of one's own practice and goals or the aspiration of moving up the organisation's hierarchy, which is an ambition only possible for employed professionals. Elliot (1972) also notes that some professional settings could offer more prestige and higher financial rewards when compared to others, even if, in theory, professionals were at the same 'hierarchical level'. This is related to the 'client' and how prestigious they are. Evetts (2003) highlights the element of risk and risk assessment that professionals have to deal with to ease clients' and customers' uncertainties. It might be that the higher the perceived risk assessed, the higher the professional scores in the professionals' internal hierarchy.

Specialised knowledge, formal training and an educational requirement might be said to be integral to the idea of a profession. Harries-Jenkins (1970) argues that well-

established professional groups have consolidated their educational requirements. Usually those groups which accept non-graduate entries are associated with a lower level of professionalization. This, in a sense, is related to the claim of work practitioners that the tasks to be performed are such that they require specialised skills and knowledge that only certain people have (Harries-Jenkins, 1970). More than being a way to differentiate a professional group from the rest of the population, the level of education might contribute to the group identity of a particular profession. Harries-Jenkins (1970) explains that occupational groups with higher levels of professionalism generate in their members a greater feeling of group identity. The sense of common identity is developed through the recognition that group members have similar educational and social economic backgrounds and they are united by common professional bonds and a participation in similar specialist associations. This common identity can influence an individual to a complete personal involvement within the occupational group, which means extending its influence to social political attitudes, consumption patterns and leisure activities (Harries-Jenkins, 1970).

Elliot (1972) argues that members of occupations possess expertise no matter what task they perform and this represents a source of self-esteem, social status, financial rewards or relative power in the work situation. Adams *et al.* (2006) highlight the importance of belonging to a professional group as one of the most significant reference groups in an individual's life. They argue that professional status and prestige reflect on an individual's self esteem and sense of self. It can be said that being part of a professional group is likely to shape individuals' identity. Elliot (1972) says that the professional role can be so powerful that the practitioner can be aware of general standards of behaviour or a particular lifestyle required to preserve a professional identity. He also argues that distinctive professional patterns of behaviour outside work itself are an indication to which professionalism impacts on society.

Schein (1978) claims that professional identity is developed over time and involves an understanding of professional practice through the development of the talents and the

values of the profession. Adams *et al.* (2006) argue that the socialisation into the profession that happens during the period of training can have a major impact on professional identity, attitudes and behaviour within and without the work situation that goes with it. Elliot (1972) differentiates role socialisation from status socialisation: the former consists of training in the skills necessary to perform future work, and the latter relates to the acquisition of a more general social identity including patterns of behaviour acceptable to people in their future status position. These two types of socialisation are connected and can influence each other. Elliot also points out to the danger of assuming that socialisation can be responsible for changing the individual rather than just reinforcing and extending attitudes and patterns of behaviour.

Even though there are different perspectives on what makes a professional, specialised knowledge acquired through formal means is a feature present in various discourses in the sociological literature on professions (McDonald, 1995). During this process professionals are likely to shape and internalise their professional identities. Elliot (1972) believes the power of professional identity can be such that it extends beyond the work arena. The next sections aim to have a closer look at the academic profession and its associated professional identity, and discuss the academic context in Brazil and the UK

ACADEMICS AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Discussions on professional status are a common feature of the literature on academics (Perkin, 1987; Piper, 1994; Farrugia, 1996; Enders, 1999; Taylor, 1999a; Nixon, 2001; Halsey, 2004; Williams, 2008). The relevance of discussing professional status in this study is to understand the power of the professional identity over this group and its possible influence on the retirement experience. As discussed in the previous section, belonging to a professional group may have a significant influence on the individuals' lifestyle and identity (Elliot, 1972; Adams *et al.*, 2006), therefore

influencing retirement choices and possibilities. The purpose of this section is to examine the professional status of academics and the nature of academics' professional identity, with a particular view to understanding its implications for the move from work to retirement.

Farrugia (1996) states that academics form a professional group, holding most of the elements of professionalism: substantive theory, validated practice, operational autonomy, organisational autonomy, prestige and esteem. Responding to debates on the level of autonomy, Farrugia argues:

'... although university lecturers are employed by bureaucratic institutions, and although some of their work may be strongly influenced by external curricula and examination boards, university culture still values and encourages individual research. University lecturers' training imbues them with a high sense of autonomy, where the seeking of truth and knowledge, free from outside interference, often leads to personal achievement, recognition and academic rewards'. (1996: 29)

Nixon (2001:539) argues that academic freedom is still thought of as a feature of the academic profession. At the same time he suggests that the actual practice of 'freedom' is becoming increasingly difficult to exercise. He argues that those that try to put this freedom into practice usually experience frustration and negative consequences, rather than a feeling of liberation. The enjoyment of academic freedom is becoming increasingly illusory as its opportunities are considerably reduced. So, although one could argue that autonomy and freedom are intrinsic to academics, it could be said that often this applies largely in theory and much less in practice (Nixon, 2001).

The heterogeneity and even the fragmentation found among academics also place a challenge with regard to considering academics as a professional group. Enders (1999:72) suggests that the term 'academic profession' conceals a '*heterogeneous*

range of occupations'. He questions whether there are really fundamental commonalities among academics. Enders (1999) notes that four dimensions are usually highlighted: the field of knowledge (i.e. discipline or specialisation), occupational functions or roles (i.e. teaching, research and/or administration), the type of higher education institution and occupational rank and the tasks related to it.

Piper (1994:10) identifies what he refers to as the 'dual identity' of academics. The first is related to their discipline and the second arises from their university employment. He argues that if the professional expertise of academics is linked to discipline content, then it cannot be considered as a single academic profession. If instead it is linked to expertise in teaching, then academics do not have the comprehensive training and status to qualify them as a professional group. In a similar vein, Holroyd (2000) argues that the source of professional identity for academics is only in theory derived from a sense of unity with peers. In practice, academics' professional identity is derived from the professions for which they prepare the students. Perkin (1987) points out that the academic profession is the only one in which members look outside for their professional identity. Having their identities attached to their disciplines and codes of ethics, academics inevitably form a heterogeneous group.

Holroyd (2000:40) also argues that in addition to academics forming a heterogeneous group, *'[they].... have become increasingly fragmented into a plurality of occupational groups, rewarded in different ways and perhaps even with different contractual obligations (for example, academic-related staff and academic managers).'* Taylor (1999a) argues that universities are changing to address multiple purposes and as a result of this are showing greater diversity. Enders (1999) comments that the fragmentation of the profession is likely to increase. Collini (2012) suggests that this is a global phenomenon, as all universities now embrace a huge variety of activities. National and cultural differences also influence the academic profession (Enders,

1999; Collini, 2012) and it is important to take these into consideration when thinking of academics as a single professional group (Enders, 1999).

Taylor (1999a) claims that it is possible to identify at least three levels of academic identity. The first involves the relationship with the academic institution; differences in universities affect the individual professional identity. As discussed later in this chapter, universities are not identical, neither in their status or organisational culture. Taylor argues that these differences impact on the way an academic is viewed by the public and *vice versa*: e.g. 'I'm from Keele'. The second level refers to identification with an academic discipline. As a member of a discipline, individuals subscribe to its specific rules, language and code of ethics, e.g. 'I'm a psychologist'. The third level is a 'more universal image of academic identity which overlaps disciplinary boundaries' (Taylor, 1999a:42) which relates to the academic career and reflects a public set of rules about the occupation, e.g. 'I'm an academic'. The combination of these levels shapes individuals' professional identity as an academic. Further to this, Taylor (1999a) extends his multilevel academic identity discussion to also include a role focus. Academics also have their identities associated with their preferred role in academia, whether it is teaching or research (Taylor, 1999a).

The multiple sources of professional identity for academics, promote differences in language, rules, standards and general work 'rules'. These differences could be said to be translated into the heterogeneity of the academic profession. Piper (1994) argues that academics do not form a professional group. He suggests that even though academics receive research training, they usually learn many other roles 'on the job', similar to craftsmanship. However, the abstract knowledge required from academics puts them into a different category from craftsmen, defining them as an 'expert occupation' (Piper, 1994).

Although the level of professionalism of academics can be a subject of debate in different ways, as an occupational group there are undeniable similarities shaped by

the very nature of the academic environment. Academics might borrow their professional identities from their discipline, from the occupational roles performed (i.e. teaching or research), or from a combination of both. Different types of institutions and cultural and/or national settings might also contribute to differences in the academic professional identity. To some extent some level of heterogeneity and variation is likely to be present in most professions. Piper (1994) points to the medical profession as a heterogeneous group where each area of specialisation holds its own language and 'rules'. Even though this present study considers academic professionals largely as one single group, there is a conscious effort towards including academics from various disciplines and types of institutions. The following section will explore the context of the academic profession, work arrangements and higher education in Brazil and the UK.

THE EXPANSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRAZIL AND IN THE UK

In many countries, the expansion of higher education in the mid and late 20th century and even in the past ten years has transformed the scale of higher education in almost all developed and some developing countries. At the same time the introduction of organisational and financial arrangements has been shifting the nature of universities away from existing national and traditional establishments to resemble more 'highly managerial corporate enterprises' (Collini, 2012).

The transformation in higher education referred to by Collini (2012) can be observed both in the UK (Halsey, 2004; Collini, 2012) and the Brazilian systems (Pagotti and Pagotti, 2002; Mata, 2005). Among the consequences of the expansion of academia, an increased heterogeneity can be observed, reflected in different types of institutions, work practices and organisational culture (Halsey, 2004; Mata, 2005; Collini, 2012). The next two sub-sections explore the academic profession and work practices in

Brazilian and UK universities, with a focus on aspects that may affect the career and consequently the retirement of academics.

Expansion of higher education in Brazil

In order to understand the discussions around retired academics in Brazil, it is important to appreciate the structure of the higher education system in Brazil. Academia in Brazil is diverse and complex; currently there are seven categories of higher education institution, each with different characteristics. This present structure is a result of the various expansions that the higher education has experienced to in Brazil, especially from the late 1960's onwards.

The first universities in Brazil date from around the mid-1930s, being preceded by a set of professional faculties: law, medicine, engineering, dentistry and pharmacy, all dating from the late 19th century. The Federal Ministry of Education was established in 1931 and was followed by legislation to create the first universities and the National Council of Education (Schwartzman, 1998). Higher education in Brazil had two major reforms which led to its expansion and influenced the institutional models present today.

The first major reform was in 1968. Up until that time, with minor exceptions, there was no full-time employment or academic research in Brazil. The reforms of 1968 introduced a number of features of the USA's higher education system into Brazil, and placed research and graduate education at the centre of Brazil's higher education system (Schwartzman, 1998; Mata, 2005). During this period 3,800 scholarship places were offered to Brazilian academics that wished to study in the USA in order to raise the educational level of academic staff (Mata, 2005). The 1968's legislation also introduced full-time employment for university staff (Schwartzman, 1998).

In the period between 1968 and 1976, the academic expansion peaked in Brazil, and a number of new courses were introduced by both public and private institutions (Schwartzman, 1998). Based on the legislation of 1968, universities had to be the main providers of teaching in higher education. They were mandated to follow the government's framework which required them to develop both research and community service in addition to teaching. Exceptionally, independent faculties were responsible only for higher education teaching (Mata, 2005). This structure of teaching, research and community service led to the creation and implementation of graduate and postgraduate courses by universities. This structure was very expensive and led to the formation of many independent faculties, particularly in the private sector (Mata, 2005). Private institutions in this period had the highest rates of approval for new courses by the National Council of Education (Schwartzman, 1998). They benefited significantly during this period, becoming the main providers of higher education (Mata, 2005).

Following this period of expansion, higher education in Brazil again restructured during 1990-2002, under the guise of a neo-liberal government. The idea was to leave higher education to be determined by the marketplace and competition (Soares, 2007). Following changes in educational law from 1996, policies for education became open to interpretation as they were flexible, minimalist and generic (Saviani, 1997; Mata, 2005; Soares, 2007). To take one example, engagement in academic research was made optional and only one-third of academic staff were required to be masters or doctorate degree holders (Soares, 2007).

Pagotti and Pagotti (2002) argue that policies for higher education in the past three decades incentivised private education and reduced investment in public education. They explain that the new structure of higher education includes independent faculties which aim only to teach, university centres which aim for excellence in teaching and some research, and the universities which aim to both teach and carry out research. These two distinct models of universities, 'universities of teaching' and 'universities of

research' were created to meet market requirements (Mata, 2005). Mata (2005) argues that the 'universities of teaching' focus only on teaching and being the only option for most of the population, often provide knowledge which is out of date. They produce individuals that immediately lag behind in the job market (Mata, 2005). On the other hand, the 'universities of research', available only to a small minority, not only include teaching, but also research and community service activities. These extra activities make them generators of knowledge (Mata, 2005). This integration of teaching, research and community service is only found in a few universities. Pagotti and Pagotti (2002) argue that these neo-liberal changes modified the profile of higher education, *'the university is no longer a centre of formation, reflection, creation and critics but moves to be operational, productive and flexible to attend to the markets'* (Pagotti and Pagotti, 2002:5).

Mata (2005) points out that an amendment to the policies for education made in 2001 legalised the diversification of the higher education institutions with different roles, responsibilities and levels of specialisation, leading to the creation of different types of institutions with varying level of quality, autonomy and practices. At present, higher education institutions in Brazil can be private or publicly owned. Public institutions are created or incorporated and maintained by the state and can be federal, state or municipal. According to Pagotti and Pagotti (2002), federal institutions are managed by the federal government and usually have a higher level of resources when compared to others, publicly owned institutions. State institutions are managed by each state's government, and differences in quality are usually proportional to the state's wealth. Municipal institutions are managed by local government and among these the quality and level of resources varies considerably (Pagotti and Pagotti, 2002). Private institutions can be 'for profit', private in strict sense, or 'not for profit', community, religious or philanthropic. Quality standards and investment in staff development vary widely between institutions (Pagotti and Pagotti, 2002).

The academic community in Brazil: activities and work arrangements

University employment policies vary considerably among different higher education institutions in Brazil. After 1968, the public sector higher education institutions were required to significantly increase full-time employment (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997). After the 1980s, motivated by an expansion in private higher education institutions, employment policies were changed to allow flexibility of employment (Bosi, 2007). These two periods of expansion did not only allow the formation of different types of institutions, as explored earlier in this chapter, but also made Brazilian academics a heterogeneous occupational group in terms of qualifications, opportunities and employment arrangements (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997; Schwartzman, 1998; Bosi, 2007).

Schwartzman (1998) argues that Brazilian academics can be divided into four main groups. The first is formed by members of learned professions, i.e. law, engineering, medicine and dentistry; academics from this group tend to have academic activities as a secondary occupation to their professional practices or employment. Traditionally, these academics teach on a part-time basis and for low pay; however individuals from this group benefit from an enhanced professional credibility as a consequence of holding a position in academia (Schwartzman, 1998). The other groups started to emerge after 1968 and the second one, called by Schwartzman (1998) 'high clergy', was formed by selected individuals who went for their doctorate studies in North America and Europe and returned to occupy the highest positions in the new departments and research institutions created in the 1970s. This group not only benefits from regular salaries but also from additional income from international and Brazilian research funding bodies (Schwartzman, 1998). The third group is comprised of full-time teachers and lecturers in public institutions, with more limited training than the above groups. Schwartzman (1998), who labels them 'low clergy', points out that these individuals took advantage of the expansion of academia and the high demand for academic staff in the new departments and institutes that were formed.

Over time, members of this group were encouraged to improve their qualifications (Schwartzman, 1998).

Schwartzman (1998) argues that the final group is so diverse that it cannot be described in general terms. The group is formed by a mixture of part-time teachers working mostly in private universities. Some are retired or employed professors from public [state owned] universities who teach evening courses in private universities on a part-time basis; others, too young or not qualified enough for full-time employment in public universities, are employed on hourly-based contracts in different private institutions (Schwartzman, 1998). Schwartzman (1998) highlights that these academics have very little bargaining power and do not have a strong professional identity as their ties to universities are not very strong.

Variations between Brazilian academics' qualifications and work arrangements are clearly described in the first detailed report on academic staff published in 2005 by the National Institute of Research and Studies in Education (Instituto Nacional de Educação e Pesquisa – INEP). Differences between academics are usually connected to variations in policies between private and public [state owned] institutions (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997; Bosi, 2007), and to the different levels of qualification co-existing in the system (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997; Mata, 2005). Some interesting points, which are likely to have an impact on career possibilities and retirement outcomes, are discussed below.

Table 4.1 Academics' qualification/title distribution per type of institution (BR)

Qualification/Title per type of institution			
	Brazil (%)	Public (%)	Private (%)
Doctorate and above	21.9	41.7	12.2
Master	37.2	30.0	40.7
Post graduate (specialisation)	28.8	17.3	34.4
Graduate	11.2	10.5	11.5
Others	0.9	0.5	1.1
Total	100	100	100

Source: INEP (2005)

Table 4.1 indicates the distribution of academics' titles per type of institution, public or private. Based on INEP's data (2005), 21.9% of all academics in Brazil hold a doctorate and more than 37.2% possess a master's degree; 28,8% hold a postgraduate qualification below master's degree level, and 12.1% hold only a degree or other qualifications. When comparing the qualifications between private and public institutions' staff, some interesting facts arise. Among public universities' academic staff, 41.7% are doctorate degree holders and above, whereas in private institutions the same group accounts for 12.2% of academic staff. The opposite can be observed with regard to staff holding post-graduation qualifications inferior to master's degrees. In public institutions these academics account for 17.3% of the hired staff, whereas in private universities they represent 34.4% of the academic population. The percentage of master's degree holders are relatively balanced between the two types of institutions: 30.0% and 40.7% of staff in public and private institutions respectively. These numbers clearly indicate different work practices between private and public universities which are likely to impact on the academic activities that staff engage in, such as research, as well as the overall quality of education.

The condition of employment is also likely to affect academic quality and the activities engaged in by staff. Only 16.9% of all academic staff employed in Brazil hold a full-time contract with an exclusive dedication to one institution; these are largely employed by Federal or State institutions (INEP, 2005; see also Bosi, 2007; Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 2009). 18.6% are employed full-time but may hold other academic positions elsewhere, 20.4% are employed part-time and 44.1% of all academic staff employed in Brazil are hourly paid only. This is a particularly preferred arrangement for private institutions (Bosi, 2007), with the exception of a few elite private universities which balance the number of full-time and part-time contract staff (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 2009).

Relatively few academics are tied to a contract which demands an exclusive dedication to one institution. Schwartzman and Balbachevsky (2009) argue that many individuals hold multiple positions and this is especially common for academic staff from private institutions. However, a survey from the INEP (2005) suggest that 86.4% of academics worked for one higher education institution only; 11.5% declared that they work in two institutions and 2.1% said that they work for three or more institutions. Interestingly, the INEP's survey (2005) did not explore other employment of academics outside of academia, such as in industry, schools, consultancies or government. In a different study, the percentage of Brazilian academics who declare that they concomitantly hold other occupations, in or out of higher education, was found to be 45.7% (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 2009), demonstrating that multiple employment or multiple occupation is not uncommon in Brazilian academia.

Schwartzman and Balbachevsky (1997) point out that the job situation of university lecturers is better in comparison with those with similar educational backgrounds employed in industry. And the benefits and employment conditions offered by public institutions are better than those offered by private institutions (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997). Private and public institutions do not only differ in terms of preference for full-time or part-time employment contracts. Employees of public

universities, as part of the Brazilian civil service and in common with other civil servants, enjoy privileges such as job stability with full-time employment - regardless of academic qualifications, a relatively light workload and early retirement with full salary (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997). Retired employees from private institutions are generally only entitled to a modest state pension, and there are usually no private or occupational pension arrangements (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997).

Among Brazilian academics, the main activity is teaching. Part-time, hourly paid academics spend considerably more time teaching than full-time academics. Teaching happens largely at an undergraduate level and is the primary interest of Brazilian academics (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997). Considering the number of academic staff without a research qualification this is not surprising (INEP, 2005). Among higher education institutions, universities carry out most of the scientific research activities in Brazil (Mata, 2005) and these are mainly conducted by academics with doctorates (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997). Schwartzman and Balbachevsky (1997, 2009) argue that in concrete terms, the quality of academic research in many cases is poor and does not qualify as scientific under international standards. A scarcity of funds and a low level of qualifications are the reason for poorly developed research practices (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997, 2009). Using the number of staff holding a doctorate degree and the number of full-time staff to explore differences among institutions with regard to research practices, Schwartzman and Balbachevsky (2009) identified five types of institutions. Their orientation towards research, teaching or both can be found in the table below.

Table 4.2 Academic staffs' priority to teaching or research - 2007 (BR)

Type of institution	Primarily teaching (%)	In both, but leaning towards teaching (%)	In both, but leaning towards research (%)	Primarily research (%)
Research universities	2.6	35.6	55.2	6.7
Other public universities	6.1	42.2	45.2	6.5
Private elite universities	9.9	40.4	44.4	5.3
Other private universities	12.3	49.	34.5	3.9
Research institutes	0.0	10.2	46.9	42.9

Source: Schwartzman and Balbachevsky (2009)

When comparing the data from 2007 with data from 1992, Schwartzman and Balbachevsky (2009) found that there was a growth in research orientation, however, there are still a significant number of academics who have no involvement in research. In terms of teaching, generally, higher qualified staff tend devote more time to activities such as graduate student teaching, supervision and research, while academic staff with lower qualifications tend to teach on undergraduate courses (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997; Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 2009).

Academic life in Brazil is not seen as a particularly demanding existence, Schwartzman and Balbachevsky (2009) claim that 65% of the academics they surveyed were satisfied or very satisfied with their work. There was no consensus regarding work conditions; one third believed it improved, a third believed it has not changed while the remaining third believed it had worsened. In terms of research, academics' views depended on their institution. Individuals employed by research institutions on average believed that conditions for research activities had remained the same over

the years, whereas individuals from other types of institutions tended to believe that these had deteriorated. All academics believed that teaching conditions have deteriorated even further over the years. However, individuals employed by research institutes and elite private universities - which only teach selected graduate students - tended to give a slightly better assessment (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 2009).

The Higher Education system in Brazil is complex and fragmented. The speed of expansion and the contrasting agendas of government, public and private institutions contribute to a system where different standards and working practices are accepted (Mata, 2005; INEP, 2005; Bosi, 2007; Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 2009). The academic occupational group in Brazil is highly heterogeneous as a consequence of this 'varied' system. The professional identity of academics in Brazil cannot be reflected using Taylor's (1999a) model of multilevel identity. The institution to which one belongs is usually the most important element to identity, rather than being an academic or member of a specific discipline. The institution signals the level of status one has and the level of possibilities career-wise and post career. The differences in employment policies, investment in research and quality standards can be seen not only when comparing public and private sector institutions, but also when comparing institutions within these groups. Glomm *et al.* (2006) point to the trend of civil servants taking early retirement and moving to the private sector initiating a 'post retirement' career. It can be argued that the same is true for academics retiring from the public sector.

The next section includes a brief overview of the higher education expansion in the UK, and reviews the academic profession in the UK. The main focus of this section will be on the current profile of higher education academics, their activities, working environment and employment practice.

The expansion of higher education in the UK

Higher education in Britain provides a contrast with Brazil given the much earlier establishment of universities, notably Oxford around the mid 12th century and Cambridge in the early 13th century (Collini, 2012). Collini (2012) argues that although universities have a long history, the modern university is essentially a product of the 19th century. During this period important steps towards the expansion of higher education can be noted with the founding of two new colleges in London (University College and Kings College) and a small Anglican outpost in Durham during the 1820s and 1830s (Anderson, 2006; Collini, 2012). Following this, in the 1870s and 1880s new civic (or 'redbrick') institutions were established in Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield and Liverpool, to provide an education that supported further industrial expansion. Collini (2012:28) points out that by the beginning of the 20th century in Britain there were at least three different kinds of higher education institutions: The Oxbridge (Oxford and Cambridge) model: '*residential, tutorial, character-forming.*' The Scottish/London model: '*metropolitan, professional, meritocratic.*' And there were the 'civic/redbrick' model: '*local, practical, aspirational.*'

Higher education in the first decades of the 20th century expanded slowly. Civic universities progressively lost their distinctive 'local and practical' model, gradually conforming to the dominant model – national, residential, offering post and undergraduate degrees in a whole range of subjects, supporting teaching and research and seeking the autonomy and prestige usually associated with the older universities (Anderson, 2006; Collini, 2012). Collini (2012) argues that the same pattern can be observed being repeated with other new institutions, such as Hull, Leicester, Nottingham and Southampton universities in the 1940s; the Colleges of Advanced technology, such as Bradford, Brunel, Loughborough, Salford, Surrey, in the 1960s and 1970s; and with the polytechnics in the 1980s and 1990s.

In the 1950s through to late 1960s academia went through a period which Halsey (2004) views as a 'golden age'. During this period there was considerable investment

in research as this was seen by public leaders as an indispensable adjunct to teaching and an important activity in its own right (Halsey, 2004). The decade of the 1960s was marked by an expansion of the university system in the United Kingdom (Halsey, 2004; Anderson, 2006; Collini, 2012), with a momentum set by the publication of the Robbins report in 1963. The *Report of the Committee on Higher Education*, chaired by Lord Lionel Robbins, was commissioned to review the state of higher education in the UK. Its conclusions were accepted by the government and led to an expansion of higher education.

Following the creation of new universities, the expansion of the higher education in the UK continued with the incorporation of the former Colleges of Advanced technology as technological universities (Deem, 2004; Halsey, 2004). The number of universities increased significantly in the 1960s, expanding from 25 to 45 by 1969, matched by an equivalent expansion of teaching and research staff (Deem, 2004; Halsey, 2004). Two years after the Robbins report, the then Secretary of State for Education announced the creation of what became known as the binary principle (or system) (Collini, 2012). So, in addition to universities, a second kind of institution, vocational and community-responsive, was established as Polytechnics (Collini, 2012). There were more than 30 polytechnics in England, Wales and Northern Ireland and Central Institutions in Scotland (Deem, 2004; Halsey, 2004; Collini, 2012).

In the early 1970s, whilst substantial amounts of money were spent on other post-school education and teachers' training run by local government, the role of higher education was not significantly questioned by the government, and the system remained largely an elite one (Deem, 2004). However, there was an increasing pressure on higher education and science to meet the needs of local government and industry. Halsey (2004) points out that when the polytechnics were recognised in 1970, they were particularly responsive to the needs of local industry and government for applied research. Halsey (2004) adds that the academic staff of polytechnics, like the staff from universities, had an expectation of conducting research as well as

teaching. Yet the polytechnics' demands for a share in the research funding system were largely unanswered (Halsey, 2004).

Collini (2012) points out that from 1969 to 1992 no new universities were formed. The expansionist phase of higher education which occurred in the 1960s went into decline from the late 1970s onwards (Deem, 2004) along with a sharp decline in research funding (Halsey, 2004). In the 1980s, the largest part of the higher education expansion in the UK happened not in universities but in colleges and polytechnics. The number of students in polytechnics and colleges nearly doubled from 1980-1989, achieving similar levels to universities (Morgan, 2004). The unit costs of the polytechnics and colleges were lower than those of universities, largely due to the fact that they did not sustain a research base (Morgan, 2004). Nevertheless, polytechnics were also affected by the reduction in funding for research. Halsey (2004) argues that in the late 1980s polytechnics' and universities' academics reported that the quality of research and teaching in higher education had suffered as a consequence of the funding cuts.

In 1992, with the end of the 'binary system', funding for old and new universities had to be rethought (Morgan, 2004). Establishing an equal level of funding for old pre-1992, and new post-1992, universities was a challenge in order not to make the system too expensive or underfunded. Drawing on academic excellence as a criterion for research funding was seen as an attractive measure, and consistent with the perception of accountability. This principle was slowly introduced to universities as a way to balance knowledge generation and levels of funding (Morgan, 2004). Deem (2004) points out that higher education in the UK had been subject to direct and indirect modernisation endeavours by government and university funding bodies. These modernisations involved an open management of academics and academic work by making explicit performance and quality indicators for teaching and research, as well as the introduction of severe restrictions on units of funding per student and for capital expenditure. Regardless of this, Deem observes that there has still been

considerable expansion of the system (Deem, 2004). Since the 2000s more than thirty other institutions, usually former Higher Education colleges, also gained a university charter (Collini, 2012).

The academic community in the UK: activities and work arrangements

When it comes to work practices in academia, Halsey (2004) found that despite all the changes in their conditions of work, academics remain firmly attached to the tradition of balancing teaching and research interests. This interdependence is particularly noted in the pre-1992 universities. While Halsey observed in 1976 that the majority of academics still adhered to a teaching and research orientation, there were greater proportions heavily interested in either teaching or research. *'University staff had shifted towards a research orientation; a quarter of the [former] polytechnic staff were heavily identified with teaching'* (Halsey, 2004: 184-5). This trend continued to be observed by Halsey in the period between 1976 and 1989. Emphasis on research continued to be stronger in universities compared to former polytechnics. The latter had a quarter of its staff giving priority to teaching (Halsey, 2004). Consistently with Halsey (2004), Morgan (2004) observed that in 2001, prestigious universities like London, Cambridge and Oxford had almost all academic staff engaged in research – this contrasts to the former polytechnics where only 40% of the academic staff were active in research. Recent data from a Universities UK (2010) survey indicated that, generally, the time spent on research activities increased among academics when comparing responses from 1992 and 2007 surveys. This might be explained by the growing pressure on academics to produce research outputs within the quality required for Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) submissions (Universities UK, 2010).

Even though there is a documented trend for spending more time in research activities, differences such as individual's age, grade, career stage and institution's policies are likely to impact on academic activities performed (Universities UK, 2010).

Universities UK (2010) points out that the recent increase in academic staff recruitment did not only include young people entering the profession via the traditional PhD route, but also a number of people entering mid-level having already pursued a career in another occupation.

Universities UK (2010) categorises UK academics into three main groups. The first group – ‘young’ - is composed of individuals under the age of 40, the majority had entered academia via the traditional route of formal education, including PhD and postdoctoral study. The second group – ‘mature, recent’ - includes individuals over the age of 40 who have entered academia within the last ten years, many of them having had a previous career in a different occupation. The third group – ‘older, established’ - represents academics over the age of 40 who have been in academia for over 10 years (Universities UK, 2010). This group is subdivided between professors and individuals on other academic grades. These two subgroups are notably different in their responses to the Universities UK’s survey (2010). While older, established professors were the most satisfied with their career and work, older, established academics from other grades were the least satisfied, when compared with the two first groups. Their involvement in academic activities also differed, with professors having higher involvement in research related activities while the older, established academics from other grade groups had higher involvement in teaching related activities, including high involvement in undergraduate teaching (Universities UK, 2010). Table (4.3) describes the distribution of academic staff per grade and type of contract.

Table 4.3 Academic staff per university grade and type of contract (UK)

University grade per type of contract			
	Full-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Total (%)
Professors	9.3	1.2	10.5
Senior lecturers/researchers	18	3.2	21.2
Lecturers	16.6	13	29.6
Researchers	18.2	3.5	21.7
Others	4.4	12.6	17
Total	66.6	33.4	100

Source: Adapted from Universities UK (2009)

As described in Table 4.3 above, among the academics employed by British universities in 2007/08 (N=174,945), 66.6% were employed full-time while 33.4% were in part-time contracts (Universities UK, 2009). The distribution of academic grades among all academic population were as follows: 10.5% were professors, 21.2% were senior lecturers or researchers, 29.6% were lecturers, 21.7% researchers and 17% were of other grades. A large majority of professors and senior lecturers/researchers and researchers were employed on full-time contracts; others grades were largely employed on a part-time basis (Universities UK, 2009).

It is important to highlight that there is a well marked difference between female and male academics when types of contract and university grades are considered. Universities UK (2009) points out that women account for 43% of all academics, however they are under-represented in the higher academic ranks, i.e. only 19% of professors are women. In terms of type of contracts, women make a small majority when it comes to part-time contract, 54% of part-time positions are held by women.

The Universities UK (2010) report found that part-time staff were primarily interested in teaching or in teaching and research (but leaning towards teaching). Full-time staff, in contrast, were largely interested in research only or in both teaching and research, but leaning towards research. Locke and Bennion (2009) point out that academic staff from different types of university have different priorities with regard to teaching and research. Their findings can be found in the table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Academic staffs' priority to teaching or research - 2007 (UK)

Type of institution	Primarily teaching (%)	In both, but leaning towards teaching (%)	In both, but leaning towards research (%)	Primarily research (%)
Research intensive universities (193)	3	23	36	39
Other pre-1992 Universities (249)	11	31	38	20
Post-1992 Universities (99)	16	34	40	10
Post-2004 Universities (19)	60	16	21	5
HE Colleges (7)	14	43	43	0
All (569)	11	38	37	24

Source: Locke and Bennion (2009)

Locke and Bennion (2009) highlight that teaching or researching priorities are not only dependent on the type of institution to which one is affiliated, but also can differ among the various academic disciplines.

Halsey (2004) observed that variances in the research focus of universities and former polytechnics were also reflected in university leadership. In the surveys of 1989 and 1976 Halsey found that the research focus and level of publications had great

importance in determining the receipt of promotion to professorships in universities. In the former polytechnics, neither attitude to research nor publication record were strongly associated to professoriate and headship of departments. This became more noted on the survey from 1989. Halsey concludes:

'There is, in other words, some indication that leadership in the universities continues to resist external pressure to assimilate to line management, to continue to seek academic meritocracy, while the [former] polytechnics, in addition to inheriting their traditional technical college culture, are increasingly pressed towards a more bureaucratic order.' (Halsey, 2004:208)

These differences might still impact on academic work today and therefore generate a variation in work culture for universities based on their history, i.e. whether it is a former polytechnic, former college of technology, 'redbrick' universities, etc. Generally, academics claim to be simultaneously dissatisfied in the institutional and higher education sector level and strongly committed with their department and fulfilled by their own teaching and research. Work motivations are as much intrinsic as extrinsic (Universities UK, 2010).

The higher education system in the UK is at face value a 'unitary' system, however in the literature (Halsey, 2004; Morgan, 2004; Deem, 2004) there is an indication that organisational history might still have an impact on work practices. The type of university might be a factor to influence a greater focus on research, teaching or both (Locke and Bennion, 2009). When examining this unitary system, it can be found that an occupational group is essentially heterogeneous, where the sets of work practices are influenced by the expectations of the university as well as by the discipline. Universities UK (2010) points out that age, gender, ethnicity, mode of work, and contract, also contribute to a segmentation of the academic population. In addition to this, academic work is becoming increasingly fragmented as individuals fulfil different roles in research or teaching, making it difficult to categorise the academic population

into a single professional group (Universities UK, 2010). The multilevel model of professional identity proposed by Taylor (1999a) may be helpful to understand the diversity found among UK academics. The academic institution to which one belongs to is not only a source of career opportunities, but also provides opportunities in retirement. Retirement practices are likely to be influenced by residual disparities between old and new (or pre and post-1992) universities. Separate pension schemes - Teachers Pension Scheme, University Superannuation Scheme - have their own rules for pension and retirement and inevitably offer a distinct set of circumstances for retirement. This, in addition to the 'multilevel' professional identity, enhances the possibilities in retirement for some but not for others. The unitary system cannot be said to offer a common retirement plan for all its members.

CONCLUSION

In theory, the aim of higher education is the same in both Brazilian and UK higher education systems. Although both experienced a substantial expansion after the 1960s, the history, tradition and process of expansion were clearly dissimilar.

UK academia dates from the late 12th century. Initially an elite system, UK academia traditionally places great importance on the balance between teaching and research. As the twentieth century unfolded, various forces led higher education to expand and become more inclusive. In the later part of the 20th century, the focus was to make the higher education system more uniform, promoting equal status for existing institutions.

In Brazil, higher education is comparatively recent, the first institutions date from the late nineteenth century, consistently with other Latin American countries (Halsey, 2004), Brazilian academia is largely teaching focused; scientific research production is still modest by international standards. In 2007, Brazil's scientific research production

represented 1.8% of the world's total and 51% of Latin America's total (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 2009). In the mid twentieth century during the military regime, there was a government focus on developing academia to the USA's standards, creating incentives for research and the development of postgraduate programmes. This was concomitant with a period of great economic growth. Later, the expansion of higher education in Brazil aimed to create a more inclusive system, however using a different initiative to that in the UK. The plan was to create various types of institution to fill the gaps in the academic system. Today's Brazilian higher education reflects this complex set of institutions, most often offering relatively low quality teaching and no research.

As far as academic work is concerned, very few Brazilian universities manage to deliver excellence in both research and teaching, most universities occupy themselves mainly with teaching and perhaps delivering research below international scientific standards. In the UK, even taking into consideration differences between pre- and post-1992 universities, there is still a mentality of integration between research and teaching, making research opportunities more available when compared to Brazil.

When comparing career paths of Brazilian and UK academics, it is no surprise to find that the academic career in the UK will tend to be more formalised, with certain standards of qualification and largely full-time employment. In Brazil, there are many shortcuts to academic careers and in some institutions, academics holding only basic qualifications are accepted (see Table 4.1). A large group of academics are hourly paid staff with very few ties to the university. Even among the full-time staff, having another job is quite common.

Overall, women are well represented in both Brazilian and UK higher education. However, both in Brazil and the UK, they tend to be over-represented in the lower academic grades and under-represented in higher academic grades (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 2009; Universities UK, 2010). With regard to job satisfaction Brazilian

academics are generally more satisfied with their jobs than their counterparts in the UK (Universities UK, 2010).

All these differences impact on the perception of the academic occupation in its cultural/national context. Exploring these cultural differences and understanding their impact raises questions as to whether this might affect the strength of academics' own professional identities. As discussed earlier in this chapter, professional identity is likely to shape attitudes, values and behaviour at work – and sometimes in other life domains too – and may have an impact on the retirement experience. Considering these points, one may wonder about the power of the professional identity of Brazilian and UK academics and how differently this may influence their transition to retirement, and the experience of continuity of work-related identities in retirement.

One may also question, in line with Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage [CAD] (Dannefer, 2003), whether the different cultural/national context would affect the possibilities for careers and retirement for this occupational group. In this study, these contextual differences will be taken into consideration when exploring the transition to retirement for academics. The aim is to explore similarities and differences in the retirement process and decision to retire, the desire for continuity of professional activity and life satisfaction in retirement; and to explore what aspects of retirement are cultural/national specific or universal to academics as an occupational group.

This chapter reviewed the literature on the sociology of professions and academics as a professional group, highlighting the formation of professional identity and its impact on individuals' lifestyles. A brief overview of academia in Brazil and the UK and its current context and work practices was explored, highlighting the differences between these cultures and clarifying the meaning of being an academic in these two countries. The next chapter will cover the current literature on retirement of academics, with an emphasis on exploring studies on UK and Brazilian retirees.

CHAPTER FIVE - The retirement of academics

INTRODUCTION

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY AND THE DESIRE FOR CONTINUITY AFTER RETIREMENT

CURRENT LITERATURE ON RETIREMENT OF ACADEMICS

RESEARCH FOCUS

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the meaning of belonging to a professional group and, more specifically, to being a member of the academic profession. It also explored the context of Brazilian and UK academia, conditions of employment and academic work aiming to understand the different aspects of the academic environment in Brazil and the UK that are likely to affect the experience of retirement.

The aim of this study is to explore the transition to retirement for Brazilian and UK academics, exploring evidence for professional continuity, how this influences life satisfaction and the extent to which academic retirees can control their retirement transition in the context of the academic environment from which they draw their identities. This chapter will start with a brief discussion on the relationship between professional identity and the evidence for continuity in the transition from work to retirement. Following this, the literature on the retirement of academics will be explored, with an emphasis on Brazilian and UK experiences as these directly relate to the interests of this study. From the available literature, a focus will be given to findings on the retirement process - including reasons to retire, adjustment to retirement, indication of professional continuity following retirement - attitudes towards retirement and life satisfaction. Particular attention in this chapter will be paid to the findings from the survey conducted by Tizard and Owen (2001), as their survey is a particularly important reference for this present thesis: first, because it was conducted in a large, nationwide sample, and secondly, because its questionnaire was adapted for use in the survey stage of this study.

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY AND THE DESIRE FOR CONTINUITY AFTER RETIREMENT

As discussed in Chapter Four, the professional socialisation process involves not only the acquisition of skills or knowledge but also a professional identity. As one form of social identity, the professional identity includes the attitudes, values, knowledge, beliefs and skills that are shared with others within a professional group which are related to the professional role (Adams *et al.*, 2006). Background similarities reinforce group coercion and it has been argued that professionals who face lengthy studies and strict entry barriers feel more involved in the professional group and derive a strong sense of identity (Harries-Jenkins, 1970). It has also been observed that, similarities in attitudes and values are not a product of socialisation *per se*, but a combination of socialisation and self-selection, as professional groups will tend to attract entrants that already, to some extent, share some common values and attitudes (Elliot, 1972). How these similarities translate into retirement patterns, particularly for academics in the UK and Brazil, is also the subject of this study.

Taylor (1999a) believes that for most academics there is a sense of career which includes continuity in terms of the pursuit of particular lines of research, the development of teaching expertise, the development of a reputation and engagement with the community as a whole. He comments, '*It is through this essentially linear progression that contributions to their institution will be recognised and rewarded, that an academic's career will advance*' (Taylor, 1999a:40). A life course perspective, Continuity Theory and the Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage Theory, might provide an insightful framework to understand the elements shaping individuals' experience of retirement when considering this sense of career and continuity that academics experience.

In the literature on retirement it has been suggested that older, professional and managerial workers are increasingly seeking early retirement as a way to enjoy the

'third age' (Scales and Scase, 2001; Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Gilleard and Higgs, 2005; Loretto *et al.*, 2006) and other identities not necessarily related to work (Phillipson, 2002). From the early 1980s, the early retirement of academic staff in UK universities became relatively common (Tizard and Owen, 2001). The extent to which professional identity influences retirement patterns is likely to be particularly significant for academics as their work is seen to be a central and valued part of their lives, offering them intrinsic rewards (Tizard and Owen, 2001). Patterns of behaviour, choices and lifestyles are said to be both connected to professional identity and dictated by it (Goode, 1957; Harries-Jenkins, 1970; Elliot, 1972). The continuities sought and experienced and even the possibilities for further continuity might well be related to a specific professional or occupational group. What elements make individuals decide to seek continuity in their professional identity or, conversely, to relinquish it?

The transition from work to retirement can be affected by a range of individual factors such as health, caring responsibilities, financial security, pension arrangements and organisational pressures such as job change, redundancy and discrimination (Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Vickerstaff and Cox, 2005; Loretto *et al.*, 2006). Such transitions and other accumulated advantages and disadvantages determine the degree to which continuity is likely to be experienced. The exploration of these different issues seems necessary in order to understand the extent to which, and under which circumstances professionals are inclined to continuity and how much continuity could be considered satisfactory or desirable. In the next section the current literature on the retirement of academics will be explored and the findings of different studies discussed.

CURRENT LITERATURE ON RETIREMENT OF ACADEMICS

The retirement of academics both in the UK and Brazil has not been the subject of extensive study. In this section, some general findings from various studies on the retirement of academics will be discussed including those from Brazil and recent UK research. There are a number of studies that analyse and explore the retirement of academics in the USA (Rowe, 1973; Rowe, 1976; Kell, 1978; Dorfman, 1992; Dorfman, 2000; Dorfman, 2002; Dorfman *et al.*, 2005) which bring insights into adjustment and professional activity in retirement. The findings commonly found are the high level of life satisfaction in later life (Kell, 1978; Dorfman, 1992; Dorfman, 2002) regardless of whether people are continuing work, are retired (Dorfman, 1992; Dorfman, 2002) or have taken early retirement (Kell, 1978). Kell (1978) in his study found that a large minority of respondents would have retired even earlier if they had had the chance. Dorfman (2002) found that the main motivation to retire was the desire to do other things; on the other hand, those that continue working were still doing so because they enjoyed working (Dorfman, 2000; Dorfman, 2002). In different studies, (Dorfman, 1992; Dorfman, 2000; Dorfman, 2002; Dorfman *et al.*, 2005) continuity over the transition from work to retirement was consistently noted, both in terms of academic activities and life satisfaction. Interestingly, Rowe (1973, 1976) found the academic status and professional visibility experienced prior to retirement had a proportional impact on activities after retirement. Individuals with more accumulated prestige tended to have more opportunities for continuity of professional/academic activities following retirement (Rowe, 1973; Rowe, 1976). Other studies comparing UK and USA academics (Dorfman, 1985; Dorfman, 1989; Taylor, 1999b) have found similar results to the above, indicating continuity in professional activity after retirement. Each study had a slightly different focus; the main findings of these studies will be summarized below.

Retirement planning for many UK and USA academics did not appear to happen until their late fifties or sixties; however British academics started to make their plans at a

later age when compared to American academics (Dorfman, 1989). More USA academics reported having financial worries in retirement than UK academics. However, in both groups the majority had made some sort of financial plan prior to retirement (Dorfman, 1989).

Research by Taylor (1999b) found that academics from the UK retired at an earlier age when compared to academics in the USA. Most academics reported that they had chosen to retire voluntarily; however a minority, especially in the UK, felt pressed to retire (Taylor, 1999b). Among the reasons to retire, Taylor (1999b) found that from her sample, nearly a half of academics in the USA stated that they had a sufficient level of income for retirement, compared with only a quarter of UK academics. However, in the UK, incentives for retiring early were more common in comparison with the USA. UK academics tended to relate their desire to retire to frustration with work conditions and the academic environment. Other reasons to retire included: feeling it was time to retire, a desire to retire at the same time as their partner, a desire to do other things, wanting to have more time, unhappiness with work or work environment, a particular plan to retire at that particular point in time, and health related issues (Taylor, 1999b). Taylor (1999b) noted that most academics expressed that they had looked forward to retirement; however, this was more evident for USA than for UK academics.

All studies found that for the UK and the USA, a large majority of retired academics continue to engage in their professional roles, performing various professional activities in retirement (Dorfman, 1985; Dorfman, 1989; Taylor, 1999b). Interestingly, Taylor (1999b) found that some academics who performed paid work in retirement did not expect that they would at the time of retirement. Dorfman (1985) argues that the strongest predictor of the total level of professional activity in retirement was the level of professional activity prior to retirement and the number of connections to other professional organisations outside the university.

Two studies suggest that of all academic activities performed in retirement, research was the most common role (Dorfman, 1985; Dorfman, 1989), followed by teaching and then by consultancy (Dorfman, 1985). In contrast, Taylor (1999b) found that teaching was most frequently referred to by retirees; writing came last, with other activities related and unrelated to academia being more frequently mentioned by respondents. Unpaid or volunteer work was less frequent than paid work, averaging one day a week (Taylor, 1999b). For these findings on paid and unpaid activities after retirement, Taylor (1999b) does not differentiate between the responses from USA and UK academics. Dorfman (1989) found that almost all of the academics in both the UK and the USA, participated in one or more leisure activities. UK academics tended to participate in more leisure activities and studies outside their professional fields than their USA counterparts (Dorfman, 1989).

Generally, UK and USA academics reported being satisfied or very satisfied in retirement (Dorfman, 1989; Taylor, 1999b). Dorfman (1989) highlights the importance of achieving some level of professional continuity for retired academics. The attitudes towards retirement for UK and USA academics were much more positive than negative (Dorfman, 1989). Among the positive aspects, both groups pointed out an opportunity to live a more balanced life in terms of academic pursuits and other interests. They also appreciated the freedom and flexibility of retirement. Among the negative aspects, the loss of the professional role and contact with students and colleagues was highlighted by both groups of retired academics. The loss of facilities and professional services was more negatively perceived by British than American academics (Dorfman, 1989).

Retirement of academics in the UK

Additional UK studies on the retirement of academics have provided further information regarding retirement in academia (Tizard and Owen, 2001; Tizard, 2004;

Davies and Jenkins, 2011; Thody; 2011). As the Tizard and Owen study (2001) is particularly relevant for the design of this present study, specific attention is given to describing the findings of their research. Their research focused on the activities and attitudes of retired academic staff and attempted to fill a gap in this area in UK research. The study represented the first large scale investigation into the experience of retirement for UK academics. From Tizard and Owen's sample, only 5% of men and 20% of women were working part-time at the time of retirement, and two-thirds of the academic staff retired early. Their findings were consistent in a number of respects with those from USA and UK-USA studies. A large majority of retired academics, even after between 3-5 years in retirement, reported that they were still engaged to some extent in either university teaching or research, or both, usually on a part-time basis. Re-employment after retirement was not uncommon, and for many this was part of the retirement package. Even though, it was less frequent, some retired academics also engaged in unpaid academic work. Engagement in paid work out of the university was also indicated by many retirees, including other types of teaching, private practice, business, etc. In many cases, individuals had more than one part-time occupation, in and out of the university. Only a few individuals made major career changes after retirement and this usually related to longstanding interests, for example people with interests in sports moved into sport-related activities. According to Tizard and Owen (2001), the proportion of retired UK academics in employment is much higher when compared to the employment of the UK retired population in general. This gives an indication of the extent to which academics can experience 'continuity' in their occupational identities after retirement.

Tizard and Owen (2001) highlight that earlier retirees were more often employed after retirement than later retirees. Likewise, men were more often employed after retirement than women. Even though professors tended to retire later, they were reported to be spending more time in academic activities - including paid teaching and paid consultancy out of the university - than retired academics of other grades.

Although access to resources (such as library, email address, shared room, and expenses to present papers at conferences) among retired academic staff is generally low, professors reported having more access to resources than other grades.

Among the reasons given for retirement, the retired academic staff often indicated that dissatisfaction with the work situation contributed to their decision to retire. Other reasons frequently cited by retired academic staff included a favourable retirement settlement, wanting time for other interests, stress and illness of self or a family member. Most of the retired academic staff commented that if they could retire again, they would at the same age they did (Tizard and Owen, 2001). A majority (61%) of academic staff reported feeling more content after retirement. Only a few retired staff stated that they felt less content after retirement (4%). Among the positive attitudes towards retirement suggested in Tizard and Owen's questionnaire, to have more time to pursue other interests and to have more time to pursue their own academic interests, were the issues most commonly cited. Among the negative ones, missing contact with students, missing contact with other members of staff and feeling 'out of the game' were the points most often mentioned (Tizard and Owen, 2001).

Most of the retired academic staff stated that leisure pursuits took more of their time in retirement than before retirement. Also, nearly half of the retired academic staff claimed that they were involved in volunteer work. Tizard and Owen (2001) suggest that this proportion is slightly higher than the national average for professionals.

Even though attitudes towards retirement were generally positive, the lack of resources and support from former employers made it more difficult for many retired academics to maintain continuity to their desired level. Loss of status and the feeling of being treated unfairly, were also common complaints from retired academic staff. The Tizard and Owen (2001) findings suggest that the extent of research and other academic activities of retired academics was related to the position occupied in the university, with professors and readers more committed and less involved in leisure

activities. They also point out that there was some evidence that women were discriminated against in retirement. Women were generally found to have been offered a less generous financial settlement at the time of retirement. Although Tizard and Owen's study (2001) used a large random sample it failed to include academics who were covered by other pension schemes and therefore subjected to different retirement rules, which may have affected their retirement experience.

Studying only emeritus professors of one institution, Thody (2011) found that they experienced a continuity of their professional identity. Although their levels of involvement in academic related activities were high, they were not always remunerated for their work, their contributions were not necessarily recognised by the university and their work was seldom incorporated to research ratings returns. Tizard (2004) and Thody (2011) suggest that the contributions from retired academics are sometimes undervalued by institutions. There is an indication that the role of the retired academic needs to be clarified as well as their entitlement to institutional support (Tizard and Owen, 2001; Tizard, 2004; Thody, 2011). Tizard (2004) points out that very few universities had a formal policy regarding the extent of support given to retired academics, generally leaving this to faculties and departments to provide resources and facilities if and as they wished. Tizard (2004) argues that there are many important forms of support which can be achieved at a relatively low cost; however these are not generally made available by universities. Thody's study (2011) found that even though the extent of institutional support and resources were clearly less for UK emeritus staff when compared to that reported in North American studies for emeritus staff, the level of continuity among such professors in the UK university studied was similar to the ones reported in North American studies.

Tizard (2004) and Thody (2011) highlight the potential benefits for institutions in supporting retired academics' contributions. Institutions where retired academics' work is seen as a resource, materially benefiting the institution, the cost of the facilities is considered a good investment (Tizard, 2004). Thody (2011) argues that at

least in the case of emeritus staff, whose title indicates their commitment to high quality academic work, their role should be discussed and rethought, as with flexibility, their talents can be better used, to the benefit of both the individual and the institution.

Davies and Jenkins (2011) studied the retirement of academics and disengagement at four different stages of the retirement transition: (1) not retired, working full-time, but considering retirement; (2) not retired, but on a phased retirement scheme; (3) retired, but continuing to work within the mainstream of the organisation, paid; and (4) retired, but continuing an unpaid relationship with university (e.g. visiting research fellow). They raise the question as to whether retirement in academia is an event or a process (Davies and Jenkins, 2011).

Davies and Jenkins (2011) found that many respondents benefited from renegotiating their job role and contract, either by splitting activities or the volume of work and this re-negotiation process gave retirees a sense of control and focus. The possibility of continuity is also perceived as positive, although a fear of being marginalised was expressed, with individuals expressing concern over how colleagues would view their position. Some pointed out that they work full-time while being paid as a part-time. Individuals in senior management positions had concerns regarding whether there would be part-time opportunities as loss of status is considered to be undesirable (Davies and Jenkins, 2011).

Apart from Tizard and Owen's (2001) study, all others (Dorfman, 1985, 1989; Taylor, 1999b; Davies and Jenkins, 2011; Thody, 2011) can be said to have been conducted on small samples or to have been focused on one or two institutions only. All of the studies reviewed in this chapter only focused on pre-1992 universities, failing to include the experience of retirement for academics from new universities (and under other pension schemes rather than the University superannuation scheme). In Davies and Jenkins' study (2011), it is unclear if post-1992 universities were included.

There are some similarities in the findings from all of the studies on retirement of UK academics outlined in this chapter. Some level of continuity in professional activity was found in all studies which included retired academics in or not in formal paid work (Dorfman, 1985; Dorfman, 1989; Taylor, 1999b; Tizard and Owen, 2001; Thody, 2011). Apart from Taylor's (1999b) study, all other studies indicated that research and writing were frequent activities, usually more frequent than teaching (Dorfman, 1985; Dorfman, 1989; Tizard and Owen, 2001; Thody, 2011).

Retirement of academics in Brazil

There are even fewer studies on the retirement of academics in Brazil when compared to the UK. From the Brazilian literature on the retirement of academics three relevant studies were found (Deps, 1994; Bragança, 2004; Veiga *et al.*, 2007), the findings from these studies were largely consistent and tended to indicate professional continuity in retirement.

For many academics from federal universities, the decision to retire was largely triggered by concerns over a potential loss of benefits and pension entitlements as a reform of civil servants pensions was taking place (affecting pension of academics from federal - public sector - universities) (Deps, 1994; Bragança, 2004). Deps (1994) argues that these concerns led academics to retire abruptly, and as a consequence, a majority carried on working at the university just after their retirement in order give the institution time to recruit new staff. Most continued working until the end of the academic term or until specific commitments were concluded. In Bragança's study (2004) all retired academics managed to re-engage in academic activities after retirement, none of them reported having experienced the transitions from work to non-work usually experienced by retirees. Five academics took a formal volunteer position for retired staff in their previous university and one in a private institution from which he already had a previous employment relationship

(Bragança, 2004). Veiga *et al.* (2007) found that most of the respondents were employed by private higher education institutions following their retirement from the federal university; one re-applied for a job in the federal university and was re-employed. The author highlights that like other academics retired from federal universities in general, this sample consisted of highly qualified and experienced individuals. Their expertise and experience are valued and desirable for private institutions, being a low cost way to have academic staff who can deliver teaching and research to a high standard, shortcutting years of investment in developing them. As a consequence of this, most of the sample managed to re-engage in private universities in academic teaching and in research groups, the latter often as coordinators. With the exception of very few retired academics, this group continued to be academically productive, not only experiencing professional continuity for themselves but also for their institution (Veiga *et al.*, 2007).

In all these studies academics were reported as having financial security in retirement (Deps, 1994; Bragança, 2004; Veiga *et al.*, 2007). Some had the sense that they were financially better off than if they retired after pension reform changes came into force (Deps, 1994), while others appreciated the extra income from their employment in retirement to complement their pension (Veiga *et al.*, 2007). In addition to a stable financial situation, another source of satisfaction in retirement was to be able to continue academic work (Deps, 1994; Bragança, 2004; Veiga *et al.*, 2007), while holding more autonomy and freedom to arrange their times (Deps, 1994; Bragança, 2004).

Bragança (2004) suggests that retirement brought many advantages and no perceived disadvantages to the retired academics included in her study. Deps (1994) highlights that individuals who expressed dissatisfaction usually referred to the sudden interruption of their careers and discontinuity of academic activities. Some respondents also felt that the way that the retirement process unfolded as an abrupt decision was also a source of dissatisfaction. Among negative attitudes towards

retirement, respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the institutional context where they were working since retiring, some feeling that active, non-retired academics were unfriendly towards retired colleagues. However on the whole positive attitudes outweighed negative ones (Deps, 1994).

In terms of plans for the future, Veiga *et al.* (2007) found that retired academics expressed that they would like to remain involved in academic activities as long as their health allows them to continue. With similar findings, Bragança (2004) and Deps (1994) highlight interesting variations in plans for the future based on gender and age. Deps' study (1994) suggests that older retirees had comparatively less interest in continuing their academic activities than younger counterparts. Bragança (2004) found that while all the male academics had no plans to wind down their work routines, the female respondents on the other hand had reported starting to cut down activities and involvements.

Veiga *et al.* (2007) suggest that retirement policies for academics retiring from federal universities should be revised, as not only have the retired staff the desire to continue working and contributing but they also have the training and experience to deliver good quality teaching and research output. These changes in policy would prevent federal universities from losing the contributions from talented staff. Some federal universities though, have policies which include the contribution of retired academics. Bragança (2004) highlights that the institution she studied offers a volunteering option for retired staff. As a volunteer, individuals are able to get involved in teaching and research, however not in the management of the institution. While these positions are unpaid, in her study most respondents took that option, rather than looking for employment in a private institution. The possibility of continuing in their usual department with their colleagues was more desirable than an extra income stream from formal employment (Bragança, 2004).

Even though the findings of these studies were consistent, they cannot be said to be representative of Brazilian academics in general. All three studies had their samples drawn from one university only, which in all cases were federal universities. Two of the studies comprised a small sample and were restricted to one discipline only (Bragança, 2004; Veiga *et al.*, 2007).

Apart from Veiga's study (2007), which found a high level of continuity after retirement, the other two studies either recruited individuals who were formally working (Deps, 1994; Bragança, 2004) as volunteers (Bragança, 2004), or individuals whose abrupt retirement circumstances led the university to need them on board for another couple of months following retirement in order not to be understaffed (Deps, 1994). In the Deps (1994) study the expectation of continuity of academic activities was high; however it was not clear whether there were formal arrangements in place for the long term. Veiga *et al.* (2007) found that for the majority, academics could find employment in private institutions which were usually under resourced. In both the Veiga *et al.* (2007) and Bragança (2004) studies retired academics did not see themselves ceasing their careers yet. It is important to highlight that none of these studies clearly includes or explores the circumstances of individuals who no longer are involved in academic activities.

In all studies, whether in the USA, UK or Brazil there is an indication of the continuity of academic activities in retirement. This indication supports Atchley's Continuity Theory (Atchley, 1971; Atchley, 1999). Tizard (2004) argues that some academics are passionate about their work and are not willing to stop just because they have reached retirement age. She points to the results of her previous study (Tizard and Owen, 2001) where many professors were still working beyond retirement age, regardless of pay. Bragança (2004) points out that the academics in her study had their personal history merged into the university's history. They helped to build the university, and to be stripped from any connection from the university is to be stripped of a well recognised part of their identity (Bragança, 2004).

RESEARCH FOCUS

On reviewing the available literature on the retirement of academics, areas for further research could be identified, both in the UK and Brazil, in terms of cross-cultural/national studies on the retirement of academics. In the UK, apart from the study conducted by Tizard and Owen (2001), the samples used in studies were generally small and focused on one or two institutions only. Most of studies failed to include individuals from post-1992 universities and under pension schemes other than the University Superannuation scheme although this is unclear in the case of Davies and Jenkins' study (2011). The methodology used in UK studies, with the exception of the study conducted by Davies and Jenkins (2011), comprised survey questionnaires which did not allow retired academics to voice their own perceptions of the transition to retirement. In the studies conducted by Thody (2011) and Davies and Jenkins (2011) retired academics who did not have a formal arrangement with a university were not included in their sample. In terms of UK studies, a gap was identified for studying the transition of academics to retirement. Further research maybe necessary to include individuals under different pension schemes (from pre and post-1992 universities), with and without formal links to universities once retired. Also, it is clear that more investigations including qualitative methods would be beneficial to better capture the meaning of the transition from work to retirement for UK academics. For Brazil, the need for further research on retirement of academics is even more evident than in the UK. All studies reviewed tended to be restricted to a small sample and in all cases drawn from only singular institutions within federal universities. Even though the gap in the literature on retirement of academics in Brazil is wide, there are a few points which stand out. When studying the transition to retirement for academics, there is a need to include individuals retiring from different types of university, whether from public sector (Federal, State, etc) or from the private sector, and also to include individuals from different disciplines (natural science, social science, humanities, etc.) so a variety of experiences can be included in the research. In terms

of data collection, the three studies had an emphasis on using qualitative methods of enquiry, leaving a gap for more quantitative studies on the transition to retirement. Further to these specific identified gaps in the Brazilian and UK literature on the transition to retirement for academics, a general need for more cross-cultural research on the retirement of academics ought to be recognised. Paraphrasing Dorfman (1989), more cross-cultural studies are essential if one wants to understand the retirement experience for academics and determine which processes are universal or culturally specific.

In this chapter it was apparent that a continuity of academic activities following retirement is generally experienced. Even though some of the studies reviewed presented limitations in terms of sample size and the number of institutions included, the tendency for continuity is present, regardless of the socio-cultural context studied. As explored in Chapter Three, contextual differences between Brazilian and UK academia are clear. Still, academics from these two countries seem to seek and experience a continuity of their professional identities. This raises questions as to whether this desire for continuity is a feature of the academic profession. Is there an intrinsic motivation to academic work that keeps individuals motivated to continue? What activities would retired academics like to maintain or discontinue?

The Brazilian academic profession is highly fragmented and heterogeneous (Schwartzman, 1998; Malta, 2005). Staff are largely hourly paid (70%) and few have the privilege of a full-time, exclusive contract (16%) (Bosi, 2007). Teaching is the main activity (Malta, 2005), limiting the scope of academic activities. In the UK, Halsey (2004) portrays a different scenario; the balance between teaching and research activities is desirable for most academics. Nevertheless, variations in research practice and funding may be found among different institutions (Halsey, 2004). Comparing these two countries, with such dissimilar policies, practices and culture, raises interesting points for discussion. Are the reasons and conditions of retirement similar or different? How much does it affect lifestyle, in terms of the

continuity of academic activities? Is there a significant financial impact following retirement? How is life arranged following retirement? Are the elements of satisfaction and dissatisfaction in retirement similar? Is there any evident effect of accumulative advantage and disadvantage on individuals' experience of retirement? Are there other significant similarities and differences in the experience of retirement among academics? In this study, the focus is to compare Brazilian and UK academics with regard to three main topics: retirement transition, including reasons to retire and adjustment to retirement, continuities and discontinuities following retirement and satisfaction in retirement.

In this chapter, the relevant literature on the retirement of academics and more specifically the retirement of UK and Brazilian academics has been reviewed. Some points of similarity were found among the studies discussed. There were clear indications of a continuity of academic activities in retirement, as well as a sense of satisfaction in retirement. Comparing these two distinct cultures may offer further insights into the experience of retirement for academics and adaptation and expectations regarding retirement. This may also inform institutions and policy makers on how to make the best use of their older academic staff's skills and knowledge, so organisations and individuals can benefit from it. In the next chapter, the research questions, methodology and the methods of this study will be discussed and explained.

CHAPTER SIX - Methodology of the study

INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

UTILISING 'MIXED METHODS' RESEARCH

FINDING A MIXED METHODS RESEARCH DESIGN

RESEARCH METHODS

SELECTION CRITERIA OF SAMPLE

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INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the literature on retirement of academics was explored and the research focus and literature gaps for this study were identified and discussed. In this chapter, the methodology chosen will be discussed and the methods and procedures explained.

A methodological approach using both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis was adopted for this study. This comparative study between the retirement of academics in the UK and Brazil aims to examine the transition from work to retirement, paying particular attention to how retirement leads to the continuity, or not, of identity and the lifestyle of academics in these two distinct contexts. This study aims not only to explore the retirement process itself but also to explore external (e.g. activities, place of residence etc.) and internal (e.g. ideas, values etc.) continuities experienced by academics. In addition, this study aims to explore the possibilities and constraints in exercising continuity as well as any evidence of accumulative advantage and disadvantage forces influencing retirement outcomes and life satisfaction in retirement. The use of both quantitative and qualitative approach in combination, rather than either approach being used alone, is more appropriate to answer the research questions, as will be discussed in this chapter.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study, there is a focus on comparing Brazilian and UK academics with regard to three main topics: retirement transition, including reasons to retire and adjustment to retirement, continuities and discontinuities following retirement and satisfaction in retirement. The research questions are:

1. How is the process of retirement experienced by Brazilian and UK academics?

2. What are the continuities and discontinuities of academic-related activities experienced in the transition to retirement?
3. What are the determining factors of satisfaction in retirement for Brazilian and UK academics?

UTILISING 'MIXED METHODS' RESEARCH

Mixed methods research - also referred to in the literature as multi-methods, multi-strategy, or mixed methodology research (Bryman, 2006) can be defined as the class of research in which the researcher combines or mixes quantitative and qualitative methods, concepts, approaches or language into a single study (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2004).

Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) explain that mixed method research is a research design which includes philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. Philosophical assumptions are present in its methodology to guide the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in different stages of the research process (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007).

Although, it is more common for mixed methods research to include qualitative and quantitative strategies, there are authors who defend that it also may involve the combination of two qualitative methods (Brannen, 2005; Giddins, 2007).

Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) argue that even though mixed methods research is often seen as a new approach, they recognise that others may not perceive it as being so recent. They explain that researchers have for many years collected both quantitative and qualitative data in the same studies (see also Kelle, 2001; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). They state however that putting both forms of data together as a distinct research design or methodology is new and its features have emerged within the last decade (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).

Bryman (2006) describes mixed methods research as one of three distinct approaches to research: the others being quantitative and qualitative research. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) refer to mixed method research as the third research paradigm. They explain:

'We hope the field will move beyond quantitative versus qualitative research arguments because, as recognised by mixed methods research, both quantitative and qualitative research are important and useful. The goal of mixed methods research is not to replace either of these approaches but rather to draw from the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of both in single research studies and across studies.' (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004:14-15)

Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) emphasise that not only can mixed methods research offer strengths that offset weaknesses, it also can offer a more comprehensive understanding of the research problems, helping the researcher to answer research questions which qualitative or quantitative research methods alone could not answer (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Bryman (2006) argues that the outcomes of mixed methods research are not always predictable; while research design decisions may be made in advance and for good reasons, when the data is generated, unanticipated findings or unrealised potential in the data may suggest unforeseen consequences of combining methods.

Brannen (2005) points out that mixed methods research offers both opportunities and risks. Mixed methods research may offer creative possibilities in terms of a range of methods of addressing research questions; however this should not replace creative thinking altogether (Brannen, 2005). In addition to this Brannen (2005) argues that mixed methods research came into social sciences to fulfil a need for practically relevant and applicable to policy types of studies. However, practical relevance should not be a substitute for theoretical relevance. She concludes that the opportunity to

learn new research skills is welcomed and facilitates cross-disciplinary collaboration but should not undermine disciplines and the importance of theory (Brannen, 2005).

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) emphasise that it is the understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative research that puts the researcher in a position to mix and combine strategies effectively. They continue highlighting that all relevant features of qualitative and quantitative research should be considered prior to the research design (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Some of the major characteristics of traditional quantitative research are a focus on deduction, confirmation, theory and hypothesis testing, explanation, prediction, standardisation, close-ended questions, unbiased and statistical data collection (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). In traditional qualitative research characteristics include induction, discovery, exploration, theory and hypothesis generation, open-ended questions, reports bias and has the researcher as the primary *instrument* of data collection (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007).

Brannen (2005) highlights that because quantitative and qualitative research are based on different philosophical positions, they can be perceived as divergent. Researchers writing on the issue of different paradigmatic positions typically refer to paradigm wars (Brannen, 2005).

Supporters of qualitative and quantitative research traditions like Lincoln and Guba (1985) or Smith (1983) have stressed the incompatibility of the different epistemological positions underlying these research traditions (Kelle, 2001). Zhang (2001) believes that while it is unnecessary to review all arguments from paradigm warriors from each camp, it is useful to understand the nature of the qualitative-quantitative debate.

Brannen (2005) points out that positivism and interpretivism philosophical traditions have dominated the discussions of mixed methods research. She continues explaining

that qualitative researchers typically locate themselves within an interpretivist tradition, although often they also hold realist assumptions about the world and the context of its subjects of study. Quantitative research is, by contrast, associated with positivism by those who describe themselves as qualitative researchers (Brennen, 2005). Implicitly, if not explicitly, qualitative and quantitative research purists advocate the '*incompatibility thesis*' when defending their paradigms as ideal for research (Howe, 1988). Incompatibility thesis assumes that qualitative and quantitative research paradigms, including the associated methods, cannot and should not be mixed (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Kelle (2001) points out that several writers discussing the integration of qualitative and quantitative methods in one research design, dispute the incompatibility thesis. When choosing a paradigm to integrate qualitative and quantitative research, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) reject the incompatibility approach and recommend a more pluralistic or compatibilist approach. Creswell and Plano Clark observe:

'Although some individuals still seek to participate in the paradigm debate, many mixed methods writers moved on to identify the "best" [authors' emphasis] paradigm that provides a foundation to mixed methods research.'(2007:26)

Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) point out that many authors embrace pragmatism as the world view or paradigm for mixed method research (see also Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Pragmatism is a set of ideas articulated by many authors and these ideas include employing 'what works' to address the research question, using and valuing both objective and subjective knowledge (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) endorse the pragmatism philosophy as a way to integrate different philosophies. However, they warn that like other philosophies, pragmatism also has its limitations which the researcher should also consider (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Pragmatism has been formally linked to mixed method research (Tashakkorie and Teddlie 2003). Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) suggest

that further to defining the research's paradigm and understanding the basics of qualitative and quantitative research, the researcher should consider if mixed methods research is the best method to address the research problem before designing and conducting the research.

For this study, a need for quantitative and qualitative methods was identified. In part, the objectives include identifying trends in the retirement experience - process, attitudes, continuities and discontinuities - for Brazilian academics when compared to UK counterparts. In addition to this, the study aims to give a voice to retired academics, so their perceptions on the retirement experience and how they make sense of continuities and discontinuities in retirement can be explored. Finally, it is necessary to review individuals' biographies in order to explore the life course advantages and disadvantages affecting retirement outcomes. According to the ideas of Creswell and Plano Clark (2007), the combination of qualitative and quantitative data will bring a more comprehensive view of on retirement of academics, by *'noting trends and generalizations as well as in-depth knowledge of the participants' perspectives'* (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007:33). In the next section more details on the research design will be discussed.

FINDING A MIXED METHODS RESEARCH DESIGN

In the literature a number of different classifications of research design can be found; Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) found nearly forty different types of mixed methods design. Bryman (2006), refining the five categories classification proposed by Greene *et al.* (1989), outlines eighteen categories of mixed methods design which better explain the various reasons that are given to conduct mixed methods research. Creswell *et al.* (2003), summarising a range of classifications came up with a list of twelve. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) comment that the literature is populated with various research design classifications, representing different disciplines and their

specific terminology. They continue pointing out that the appropriate mixed method design should be informed by factors such as (see also Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004):

- Timing - whether the qualitative and quantitative phases should be concurrent or sequential.
- Weighting - whether the quantitative and qualitative methods should have equal weight or whether more emphasis should be given to one research paradigm.
- Mixing - at what stages the data should be mixed and integrated.

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that the majority of mixed methods research designs can be developed from two major types of mixed methods research: *mixed-model*, mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches within or across the *stages* of the research process and *mixed-method*, the inclusion of a quantitative *phase* and a qualitative *phase* in an overall research study.

Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) describe four main mixed methods research design types based on decisions regarded timing, weighting and mixing. These are:

- Triangulation Design - to obtain different but complementary data on the same topic.
- Embedded Design - one data set provides a supportive, secondary role to a primary data set in order to answer the research questions.
- Exploratory Design - two-phase design, the results of the first method which is qualitative, can help to inform or develops the second one which is quantitative.
- Explanatory Design - also a two-phase design, the purpose is that qualitative data explain or build upon quantitative results.

According to the Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) classification of mixed methods design, the appropriate approach for conducting the mixed methods research of this study was triangulation.

Triangulation

The most common mixed methods approach is triangulation (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) argue that the intent of this design is to build on the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative methods. They argue that this design is preferred when the researcher wants to compare and contrast the findings of qualitative and quantitative methods or to validate and expand quantitative results with qualitative data (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Bryman (2006) observes a discrepancy between the use of the term triangulation and the research practice employed by many researchers. It is important to point out that he bases his comments on the mixed methods research design classification proposed by Greene *et al.* (1989). Kelle (2001) argues that the triangulation term has been used in two ways:

'triangulation as a process of cumulative validation or triangulation as a means to produce a more complete picture of the investigated phenomena.' (Kelle, 2001:5).

This indicates that in the literature, the use of the 'triangulation metaphor' might vary from study to study and from discipline to discipline (Kelle, 2001; Brennen, 2005).

For the present study, qualitative and quantitative methods were used to understand the retirement experience for academics. This methodological approach was chosen to address the research questions more effectively and to use mixed methods to facilitate an examination of the same phenomena from different viewpoints, therefore allowing

a more comprehensive exploration of the research questions. In the next section, the procedures used in this study will be described and discussed.

RESEARCH METHODS

In this mixed methods research a triangulation design was chosen in order to better address the research questions. The focus of the study is to compare the retirement of UK and Brazilian academics in three main topics: reasons to retire, continuities and discontinuities in retirement and satisfaction in retirement.

The data collection instruments comprised an on-line survey questionnaire, including open questions and an in-depth biographical-narrative interview. The design of the instruments will be discussed further in the next section of this chapter. The data collection was concurrent and both types of data carried equal weight. Each data set was analysed separately and their findings merged, explored and discussed in Chapter Nine.

SELECTION CRITERIA OF SAMPLE

At the outset, it was evident that a host of parameters existed for selecting the sample. It was obvious that wide individual differences amongst retired academics both in Brazil and the UK were caused by their academic career status, their age in retirement, the time in retirement, their health status, the financial settlement with the university and the existence or not of other goals or interests beyond work. It was impossible to incorporate all the parameters into a study of this scale. An attempt was therefore made to include a range of respondents, so that variables could be compared effectively.

The aim of the research was not to provide a generalised picture of life in retirement for Brazilian and UK academics, but to explore different experiences of continuity in retirement. Due to the fact that the age of retirement can vary considerably, the main criteria for recruitment was time in retirement. This was fixed as between more than a year and less than six years in retirement. This way the experience of retirement is still fairly recent, opportunities for continuity are still present and major age related concerns not yet playing a central role in life.

The sample chosen was restricted to male academics. In such a diversity of retirement experiences, gender plays a great part on determining retirement outcomes. As pointed out in the Brazilian literature (Schwartzman, 1998; and Bosi, 2007) among the current retired academic population in Brazil, women would usually have had a lower status during the working life, possibly affecting their possibilities of continuity in retirement. Tizard and Owen's (2001) study indicates that there are differences in the retirement experience for male and female academics in the UK; women being disadvantaged in comparison. Due to the size of this study and the possible relevance of gender on continuity in retirement, it was decided that this study would only include male academics, so more attention could be given to cross national-cultural comparisons to the retirement of academics and not gender differences.

The sample of this study aimed for one hundred respondents: 50 Brazilian and 50 UK academic staff, male, retired for more than a year and less than six years.

ON-LINE SURVEY

The survey phase of this study was designed to explore the experience of retirement - reasons to retire, retirement arrangements, continuities and discontinuities in retirement - as well as satisfaction and attitudes towards retirement. A self-administered questionnaire was used and distributed on-line. A survey website called

Survey Monkey [www.surveymonkey.com] was used as this offered easily editable templates and safe storage of the responses with good accessibility by the researcher. The decision to use an on-line rather than postal questionnaire was taken because in the absence of direct or indirect access to names and addresses of potential respondents, a digital version [a covering letter and a web address] of the questionnaire was more likely to be distributed by institutions and individuals willing to support the research than a paper version. This would make it easier to access a larger number of respondents; nonetheless a paper version was offered and could have been arranged on request.

The on-line survey questionnaire was an adaptation of the questionnaire designed by Tizard and Owen (2001) and used in their study on the attitudes and activities of retired academic staff. Written permission to use their questionnaire as a model was granted by Tizard. The use of a similar questionnaire would allow comparisons between the present study and the Tizard and Owen study. Apart from the closed questions, the on-line questionnaire included open questions and space for comments. Here respondents were free to express their opinions and views on the various topics presented. The aim of including qualitative questions was to give an opportunity for respondents to raise points that the researcher was not aware of. The results also helped to corroborate, compare and contrast with findings from the interviews.

For the Brazilian sample, the questionnaire designed to collect the data in the UK was translated into Portuguese. This was then piloted on a small sample prior to the start of the data collection to verify its appropriateness for the Brazilian sample. An extra question on whether individuals were working in more than one university at the time of retirement – normal practice in Brazilian academia – needed to be included. An extra category on reasons to retire was also necessary. The retirement rules for education in Brazil make the concept of retirement age confusing. Therefore, in order to clarify what was intended, in the questionnaire for Brazil the phrases 'having a

minimum age for retirement' and 'to reach the compulsory retirement age' were specifically differentiated.

Ethics

Prior to any data collection, the questionnaire was ethically approved by the Ethics Committee from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Keele University. The invitation sent to participants to respond to the survey included information on the study, details on anonymity and the researcher's contact details for any further clarification. A copy of this invitation can be found in Appendix 1. The first 'screened' page of the survey displayed the same text as from the invitation letter. The on-line survey was set up in such a way that if respondents wished to ignore any questions, they were allowed to do so.

Sample recruitment

In both countries, there was no direct or indirect access to a list of names and addresses of potential respondents. In the UK, this is largely due to the limitations of what could be obtained under the Data Protection Act 1998. In Brazil, there are no pension schemes exclusive to academic staff or teachers. For this reason, two main strategies were used; invitations in academic related publications, such as Times Higher Education and the Association for Education and Ageing (AEA) digest (summer 2008, issue 24) in the UK and the Alumni website from Pontificia Universidade Catolica Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, and a snowballing technique. The latter was the main strategy for recruiting participants. For the snowballing strategy, different universities were contacted through their Human Resources department or directly through faculties, so they could distribute the invitation to participate in this study and the web address for the questionnaire. Personal contacts were also used.

In the UK, Keele University alumni played a key role in getting through to possible participants and, on a smaller scale, personal contacts were also used. The invitation in academic related publications did not bring the result expected; however it worked to attract participants that could not be located by other means.

In Brazil, two universities were particularly pro-active in helping to locate respondents. One university, having an association for retired staff was very supportive during the recruitment process. They got in touch by phone with possible participants to ask if they wished to participate. For the ones who agreed, the information on the research was sent. For another university, the Human Resources department followed the same process.

Handling of the survey data

For the analysis of the survey responses, the qualitative and quantitative data were separated. UK and Brazilian data sets were not merged during the analysis. All the responses were downloaded from the survey website in Excel files. Prior to saving the data, each entry was checked for its validity. A few respondents who did not fit the sample criteria were identified and their responses removed. All personal information, such as name, email address, place of residence, were removed, respondents were then assigned random names. The qualitative data was saved in individual Microsoft Word files and quantitative data was loaded on SPSS 15.0. Quantitative questions were loaded in order, so the first column corresponds to the first question and so on, making it easier to 'cut and paste' the columns from Excel to SPSS. The data was analysed using descriptive statistics which enabled the identification of trends regarding the transition to retirement in academia.

The answers to open questions and comments of respondents were rich and helped to provide a clearer idea of the retirement process and how retirement affected lifestyle and identity. The answers were coded and analysed using Nvivo version 8. The coding

generated a number of subthemes, representing recurring views expressed on qualitative answers. The subthemes were grouped into three broad themes explored in the questionnaire: The retirement decision; continuities and discontinuities in retirement; attitudes towards retirement and life satisfaction.

INTERVIEWS

The aim of most qualitative interviewing is to derive interpretations, not laws and facts, from what respondents say, aiming to understand the meaning of respondents' experiences (Warren, 2002).

However, before deciding which approach to take in interviews, it is important to have clarity over the research questions (Johnson, 2002). The aim of the interview stage of the present study was to understand how academics experience retirement in relation to their working life. The main interest was to explore the trajectories of academics' careers, making sense of continuities and discontinuities. Due to the nature of the investigation in-depth interviewing seemed appropriate.

Johnson (2002) argues that if the knowledge sought by the researcher is of greater depth, for example where different individuals or groups in the same line of activities may have different perspectives on some phenomenon, then in-depth interviewing is the best approach – regardless of its known imperfections. He continues defending that in-depth interviewing is a very appropriate approach for a variety of qualitative researches, including life story research, narratives research, oral stories and grounded theories among others (Johnson, 2002). Holstein and Gubrium (1995) highlight that the quality of the interaction between interviewer and participant are central to in-depth interviewing. They state that rather than treating participants as providers of answers, the interviewer should aim to stimulate participants' narratives and interpretive capabilities (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995).

Atkinson (2002) argues that the use of narrative in the form of a life story may be the most effective way for '*gaining understanding of how the self evolves over time*' (2002:128). Life story interviews have many applications, whether the researcher is using them as a centre piece for a study or using their segments to illustrate a number of research needs. Providing more data than the researcher may actually use, which Atkinson (2002) defends as good practice, the life story interview provides a broad foundation of information upon which to draw (Atkinson, 2002).

Rosenthal (2005) points out that the data collected in biographical interview covers experiences preceding and following the phenomenon to be studied, as well as the order in which they occurred. This process aims to: '*reconstruct social phenomena in the process of becoming*' (2005:50). She defends that researchers pursuing this type of research first take into consideration the entire life story, in terms of its own internal logic and structure, before attending to the analysis of individual areas of life. She continues explaining that '*one does not restrict oneself to parts or individual phases of the biography*' unless the whole life narrative has been taken into consideration (2005:50). Wengraf (2001) points out that the data generated from biographical-narrative interviews provide rich material for any method of narrative interpretation.

In order to study the retirement of individuals, an understanding of their life course is important to make sense of their patterns of continuities and discontinuities in life and their consequences. The biographical – narrative interview gives the interviewee the chance to tell their story rather than stating a position on a topic (Wengraf, 2006); which creates an opportunity to better understand retirement by exploring what preceded and what followed retirement (Rosenthal, 2005). This kind of in-depth interviewing aims to maintain the individual's *gestalt* and in this way explore any contradictions, inconsistencies and meanings with minimum interference from the interviewer. For this study, the interviews bring an extra dimension when combined

with the survey, complementing and enhancing the data collection, bringing extra insights into individuals' perspectives on retirement.

Designing an interview schedule.

Rosenthal (2005) points out that the use of open questions about individuals' entire life stories makes it much easier for the participant to talk without consideration or planning – opening up new fields and thematic connections that the researcher was not aware of. Mishler (1986) claims that the question-and-answer method of interviewing, where the interviewer sets the agenda, has a tendency to suppress participants' stories.

Rosenthal (2005) defends that the initial question should avoid any thematic restrictions. However, in some contexts, she recommends working with a more structured form where the research context is not necessarily tied up with the subject's history. A compromise between these two styles combines life history with a thematic focus – allowing the researcher to state a topic, while still leaving enough room for other biographical strands (Rosenthal, 2005). Holloway and Jefferson (2002) suggest that the single question approach might not be applicable when the research has a very specific frame. In their study on fear of crime, they created a set of questions, following the same principles of biographic-research to encourage participants' narratives. The principles are: use open ended questions, the more open the better; elicit stories; avoid 'why' questions; and follow up using participant's ordering and phrasing (Holloway and Jefferson, 2002, 2008).

For this study, the interview schedule was designed using elements described by Rosenthal (2005) and Holloway and Jefferson (2002). The interview schedule was composed of a single life story 'thematic focused' question (Rosenthal, 2005:51), *'Can you please tell me your life story from when you first started to think about your career, starting as far back as you like. All the events and experiences which were*

important for you, personally, up to now. Please start wherever you like and take as much time as you want’. This question aimed to encourage participants’ narratives, using their own internal logic (*gestalt*). In order to help participants to reflect further on their careers and retirement experience, a few prompts were included in the schedule to be introduced if necessary, once the main narrative was over. In addition to this, some demographic questions were included at the end of each interview. [See appendix 4 for the interview schedule, prompts and demographic questions].

Ethics

Once the interview schedule was finalised, it was ethically approved by the Ethics Committee from Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Keele University. The interview schedule approved included a thorough information sheet about the research and an informed consent form, see Appendix 3.

Pilot interviews

The approved schedule was first used in pilot interviews in Brazil and the UK to refine interviewing skills and to gain familiarity with the issues which were being raised; this also ensured ‘face validity’. The researcher’s experience as a counselling psychologist was an advantage for this interview method, as the biographical–narrative interviewing style has many similarities to the one used in the counselling setting.

Setting up and conducting interviews

The interview stage was conducted concomitantly with the survey data collection. In each country, ten retired academics were interviewed. The logistics of interviewing in Brazil made the possibility of conducting more than one interview with each participant slim. In order to keep the data collection consistent, only one interview was conducted with each participant from the Brazilian and UK samples. In total,

twenty interviews were conducted. Most of the interviewees were recruited through the survey; however the ones that put themselves forward to be interviewed directly were requested to complete the survey questionnaire prior to the interview being arranged to keep consistency.

The study attempted to include retired academics from a variety of disciplines and types of institutions – both in Brazil and the UK– so a variety of experiences was portrayed. From the UK participants (n=10), six retired from pre-1992 and four from post-1992 universities. Their position in the university system varied from senior lecturer through to professor. From the Brazilian participants (n=10), five were retired from public universities, three were retired from private universities and two were retired from a public university but continued to be employed by a private university. This second employment had been present for most of their career. From the whole sample, seven had had more than one job or occupation for most of their working lives. Their position in the university system varied from adjunct professor to full professor [these correspond to the positions of senior lecturer and professor in the UK].

The interviews were conducted wherever it was most convenient for the participants. Some preferred to be interviewed in their residence; others chose to be interviewed at their former university. All the interviews were conducted in quiet places where interruptions were unlikely to happen. Prior to the interviews, participants were asked to read and complete a consent form. This form included information on the study, details on anonymity, an assurance that they could drop out from the study at any moment and an assurance that they were not obliged to answer any questions. They were also encouraged to ask any questions about the study and the researcher's contact details were provided for any further clarification. A copy of the informed consent can be found in Appendix 3.

The interviews conducted varied in length, ranging from 30 to 120 minutes, depending on how much time the participant actually had allocated or how willing and prepared they were to talk. Each participant was given the opportunity to talk without interruptions and to raise any issues of concern which the researcher had not foreseen.

The verbal and written permission of each participant was requested to voice-record the interviews solely for transcription purposes. As they all consented, a small unobtrusive voice recorder with a built in microphone was used. None of the participants seemed at any time inhibited by the voice recorder. On the contrary, the atmosphere of all interviews was casual and friendly. More than just being a participant, provider of answers (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995), most of the academics interviewed were willing to share their story and their thoughts on academic life, ageing and retirement. The relationship between the researcher and researched is said to be of imbalance (Oakley, 1981), however the fact that the group researched comprised 'senior' academics, more qualified and experienced than the researcher, evened out possible imbalance. The narrative nature of the interview, also gave the participants great control over the interview. After the interviews all of the respondents were thanked for their time and co-operation.

Analysis of the interviews

In the literature on qualitative research it is suggested that its data analysis involves a number of stages usually including data reduction - transcription (Kvale, 1996), coding and memoing (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Punch, 1998), explanation, drawing conclusions and theory (Bryman and Burgess, 1994; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Punch, 1998). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) highlight that the analysis of data is a continuous process, which involves the reduction of data at a physical and a conceptual level. Lindoff (1995) points out that the aim of analysis is to explain and

understand the coherence of meaning and action. The analysis of the data offers explanations about social situations and must be considered in the context of theory (Lindloff, 1995).

In qualitative research analysis, abstracting and comparing are fundamental activities; especially when it comes to the development of propositions (Punch, 1998). Glaser and Strauss (1967) saw comparing as such an important element that it could be described as being at the heart of qualitative analysis.

A method of coding, categorising, sorting and labelling data is necessary and is a transition out of the fieldwork phase (Bryman and Burgess, 1994). Coding tools give the researcher access to the text and artefacts (Attride-Stirling, 2001), allowing the researcher to decide what is important to save, divide, reject and how to relate ideas and concepts to each other (Charmaz, 1995; Lindloff, 1995; Spradley, 1980).

Interviews or transcripts of conversations from audiotapes are widely used in qualitative research. Transcription is the first reduction exercise that is done in qualitative data analysis, as transcriptions from oral communication can never capture the complexity of interactions and completely represent real life (Sandelowski, 1994; Kvale, 1996). Verbatim transcription has been argued to be critical in terms of reliability and validity in the trustworthiness of qualitative data (Seale & Silverman, 1997).

Some authors defend the use of notations on transcriptions to give a better picture of what individuals expressed verbally. The degrees and types of notation that should be incorporated in transcription in order to get as close as possible to the real situation and at the same time not overwhelm the researcher is a subject of debate (Sandelowski, 1994; Seale & Silverman, 1997).

For the analysis of the interviews in this study the recordings were transcribed verbatim, half of them by the researcher and the other half by professional

transcribers. All transcriptions were checked for accuracy. The Brazilian interviews had to be translated into English so the process of coding and analysis could be consistent with the one applied to the UK sample. As Portuguese is the first language of the researcher, this task was not seen as a challenge. For validity, all translations were double checked by a professional interpreter and translator for their accuracy and consistency.

Before starting to describe the process used to identify themes, it is important to state that the approach used in theme generation and the analyses that followed were a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This method of analysis is particularly useful in this study as it allows themes and findings to emerge from the data, letting the data speak for itself. The steps taken in the analysis were consistent with the ones described by Braun and Clarke (2006).

The process used to identify themes started with the coding of the interview transcripts. The first step was to read the transcripts twice. The first read was to check all the transcripts in relation to the voice recordings. This process helped to revive the researcher's memory about the interviews and also to take any necessary notes on interviews' dynamics that could not be represented in words. A second reading helped the researcher to have an idea of possible codes.

The second step was to start the coding process. The researcher started by doing this on paper, reading and making notes on the side of the paper. No attempt was made to create a pattern of labels for similar passages of text, but the first words that came to mind were simply assigned. There was an effort to code *in-vivo*, as suggested by Corbin and Strauss (1990), but in some cases constructed codes were assigned so that it would make sense to the researcher.

The software Nvivo version 8 was used to enhance the analysis. The interviews transcripts were loaded and the initial coding from the hard copy version was used to start with. At times, multiple codes were assigned to the same chunk of data. It is

important to mention that, even though some authors (Corbin and Strauss, 1990) recommend micro-coding, i.e. coding line by line, in the coding process for these transcripts, the researcher used larger amounts of data per code. Flick (2002) states that the coding style used is a choice of the researcher and it is based on the research question, the analyst's personal style and on the stage that the research has reached.

The first insights into the possible links between codes started to form after the coding process in Nvivo 8. Notes of these insights and possible connections between codes were taken on a note pad, as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006).

After reviewing the codes, renaming some and adding others, they were grouped by similarity and relationships. Strauss and Corbin (1990) write that open coding and axial coding are not necessarily sequential. These two analytic steps have different purposes and can occur at different times through transcript manipulation. However, the open codes were generated largely before the axial ones. Some codes could easily be arranged into a hierarchy. For example: 'reasons to retire' could easily be assigned as parent code of 'reaching the compulsory retirement age'. Also, other codes had to be generated to be a parent code.

The generation of themes was carried out by comparing and contrasting (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). During the coding stage the texts were examined throughout in order to identify similarities, differences and stories. Ryan and Bernard (2003) argue that comparing and contrasting are more appropriate for rich textual accounts than short answer responses. The interviews, both with UK and Brazilian academics were largely rich, providing very good material for comparing, contrasting and theme generating. Once the themes were identified, they were revisited, refined and renamed (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES

An important aspect of this study is the comparative cross-cultural/national element. Hantrais (1995) argues that, since the nineteenth century, political scientists, anthropologists, philosophers and sociologists have used cross-cultural comparisons to achieve various objectives. Comparisons have served as a tool to classify social phenomena and verify whether shared phenomena can be explained by the same causes. For many sociologists comparisons were used as analytical frameworks for examining and explaining social and cultural differences and specificities. More recently, cross-cultural/national comparisons have served increasingly as a means of gaining a better understanding of different societies, their institutions and their structures (Hantrais, 1995).

Øyen (1990:1) observes that: *'more cross national studies than ever before are being carried out, and the need to as well as demand for comparison across countries is formidable.'* He continues by pointing out that this growth in demand and interest is driven by internationalisation, globalisation and political demand (Øyen, 1990).

Hantrais and Mangen (1996) argue that there are many arguments stating the value of cross national comparative research. Among other advantages, they explain that comparisons can lead to new, fresh insights and a deeper understanding of the issues studied. Comparisons can unveil gaps in knowledge and possible directions of which the researcher had not been aware (Hantrais and Mangen, 1996). They continue pointing out that:

'Cross national projects give researchers a means of confronting findings in an attempt to identify and illuminate similarities and differences, not only in the observed characteristics of particular institutions, systems or practices, but also in the search for possible explanations in terms of national likeness and unlikeness.' (Hantrais and Mangen, 1996:3)

In the gerontological domain, Jackson (2002) highlights the need for effective research strategies in life-course and ageing across the globe. In the 1st conference organised by Latin American Research Network on Ageing [LARNA] in 2009 it was noted that there was limited cross-cultural/national research taking place on ageing in the Latin America region (LARNA, 2009). Authors like Glomm *et al.* (2006) and Queiroz (2007) have already highlighted the limited number of studies on ageing and retirement in developing countries like Brazil – even though there is a rapidly ageing population. All these arguments contribute to justify the relevance of this comparative study between Brazil and the UK.

This study has as its focus the transition to retirement and how it affects continuity for academics in the UK and Brazil. Academia in these two countries can be said to be dissimilar, reflecting their own national context. Academics of these two countries inevitably will have access to different sets of possibilities during the working life and circumstances at the time of retirement. The key question is: how different will their retirement experience be, especially in terms of continuities and discontinuities?

It must be said that conducting comparative research between Brazil and the UK is not free of challenges. Canen (1995) points out that the first challenge is size. Brazil is one of the largest countries in the world and the largest in South America in terms of area and population. This creates a natural barrier to data collection and the on-line survey was used as strategy to overcome this difficulty of access to respondents.

Canen (1995) continues saying that in Brazil development and under-development are found next to one another – e.g. São Paulo, the main industrial state has an economic output larger than those of many European countries whereas the North-eastern region is one of the least developed areas of the American continent. It could be argued that such extreme differences will not be present in the context of higher education – however, as discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation, there are fundamental differences in the quality of education, staff standards and development,

work practices and employment conditions among Brazilian higher education institutions. These differences led to the decision to only include 'universities of research' (Mata, 2005) in this study, such as federal, large state and Catholic universities, as only these could be considered comparable to UK universities.

Hantrais and Mangen (1996) pointed out that difficulties in identifying comparable groups and difficulties in gaining access to data are common challenges in cross national/cultural research. They conclude:

'Most [researchers involved in cross-cultural/national comparative studies] are in agreement that cross national research, by its very nature, demands greater compromises in methods than a single country focus. (...) There are no easy solutions.' (Hantrais and Mangen, 1996:10)

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the methodology and methods applied to this study were discussed. The theoretical and practical aspects of using mixed methods research were outlined. This chapter also described the method for proceeding with the on-line survey and interview stages of this study, recruiting the participants, limitations of the study and the analysis of the data generated. At the end of this chapter, the advantages and challenges of cross-cultural/national comparative research were explored.

The following chapter will present the findings of the on-line survey conducted in Brazil and the UK. Both qualitative and quantitative data generated by the on-line survey questionnaire will be included.

CHAPTER SEVEN – The retirement process for academics in Brazil and the UK

INTRODUCTION

WHO ARE THE RETIRED ACADEMICS?

REASONS FOR RETIREMENT

CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES IN THE TRANSITION TO RETIREMENT

ATTITUDES TOWARDS RETIREMENT

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to investigate the transition to retirement experienced by university academics in Brazil and the UK. As described in Chapter Six, a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis was adopted. This chapter will present the findings from the on-line survey carried out for the study.

The presentation of the findings in this chapter covers qualitative and quantitative responses to the questionnaire developed for the study. The results will be presented in three main sections: (1) reasons to retire, (2) continuities and discontinuities in the transition to retirement and (3) attitudes towards retirement. The findings from the surveys conducted in Brazil and the UK will be included in each section. They are presented in sequence to enable the reader to assess similarities and differences more clearly. It may be argued that presenting the data this way might be already an interpretation of the findings; however this structure follows that of the on-line survey questionnaire itself.

WHO ARE THE RETIRED ACADEMICS?

As discussed in Chapter Six, the on-line survey questionnaire is an adaptation of the questionnaire used by Tizard and Owen (2001). The survey aimed for fifty valid responses in each country. The respondents were all male and had been retired from their main academic career for at least one year or less than six years.

The Brazilian sample represented individuals across a range of disciplines and universities, and included retirees from private and public [state owned] universities creating an opportunity for differences between individuals in the civil service pension scheme and state's pension scheme to appear. As with the Brazilian sample, in the UK sample individuals were drawn from a range of disciplines and universities. Academics who had retired from both pre and post-1992 universities participated in this study

creating an opportunity for differences between University Superannuation Scheme Pension and Teachers Pension Scheme to emerge. However, it must be said that not all respondents identified which university they had retired from. The Table 7.1 summarises their demographics.

Table 7.1 Sample demographics

SAMPLE	Brazil	UK
Age of respondents (range)	53 - 76 yrs	57 - 70 yrs
Retirement age (range)	49 - 75 yrs	55 - 67 yrs
Marital status		
Married or Co-habiting	70% (n=35)	86% (n=43)
Divorced	14% (n=7)	4% (n=2)
Single	12% (n=6)	2% (n=1)
Widowed	4% (n=2)	6% (n=3)
Living with		
Partner	64% (n=32)	88% (n=44)
Others (daughter, son, friends)	18% (n=9)	-
Alone	10% (n=5)	12% (n=6)

Brazilian and UK respondents were largely co-habiting or married, 70% (n=35) and 86% (n=43) respectively, and living with a partner, 64% (n=32) and 88% (n=44). The age of Brazilian respondents varied between 53 and 76 years old, with a median of 65 and a mode of 70 years old. Their retirement age varied between 49 and 75 years old, with a median of 63 and a mode of 70 years old. The age of UK respondents varied between 57 and 70 years old, with a median of 66 and a mode of 68 years old. Their retirement age varied between 55 and 67 years old, with a median of 63 and a mode of 65 years old.

For Brazilian and UK academics there was no clear pattern regarding retirement age. This seemed to be particularly true for Brazilian respondents. The Brazilian sample had a longer range of retirement ages; between the lowest and the highest retirement age the variation was twenty six years. The UK sample had a shorter range; twelve years

variation between the lowest and highest retirement age. In both countries this may be a reflection of the retirement policies and practices in the institutions from which the academics retired.

Among UK respondents, 88% (n=44) stated to be working part-time at the point of retirement. In contrast, only 10% (n=5) of Brazilian respondents were working part-time. Some Brazilian academics report holding more than one university employment at the time of retirement, 8% (n=4), this is consistent with the practice of multiple academic employments in Brazil discussed in Chapter Four.

The distribution of the academic positions of the UK and Brazilian respondents at the time of retirement is displayed in the Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Academic position prior retirement

Job title / Academic position			
Brazil		UK	
Full Professor (Equivalent to professor in the UK)	34% (n=17)	Professor/Researcher	42% (n=21)
Associate Professor	18% (n=9)	Reader/Researcher	4% (n=2)
Adjunct Professor	32% (n=16)	Senior Lecturer/Researcher	38% (n=19)
Assistant Professor	14% (n=7)	Lecturer/Researcher	8% (n=4)
Others	2% (n=1)	Others	8% (n=4)

In terms of seniority, 42% were professors in the UK sample and 34% were full professors in the Brazilian sample, equivalent to professor in the UK. The implications of this might be reflected in the responses and the level of involvement after retirement which will not necessarily represent the experience for all Brazilian and UK academics.

REASONS FOR RETIREMENT

This section summarises the responses and comments of Brazilian and UK retired academics on the reasons which led them to retire. It also presents the responses from the Brazilian and UK samples separately in two subsections; and a third subsection discusses similarities and differences.

Reasons to retire for academics in Brazil

A variety of responses were given by respondents for leaving employment. Table 7.3 summarises the responses for the reasons to retire for Brazilian respondents, with respondents being able to list more than one reason. As explained in Chapter 6, in the Brazilian sample 'retirement age' was divided into two options; first, 'retirement age' as reaching at least the minimum age for retirement; second, 'compulsory retirement age' as the maximum age someone can remain working at universities in Brazil (typically at the age of 70). Respondents that indicated 'reached compulsory retirement age' as a reason to retire had this as the sole reason to retire. Most of the others marked at least two options as 'reasons to retire', indicating that retirement happens due to a combination of factors.

Table 7.3 Reasons to retire (BR)

Main reasons to retire – Brazil	
Reason	Frequency of responses
Reached 'retirement age'	64% (n=32)
Wanted time to pursue other interests	30% (n=15)
Reached compulsory 'retirement age'	26% (n=13)
Stress or illness of self or a family member	24% (n=12)
Dissatisfaction with aspects of work situation	24% (n=12)
Wanted more time for academic writing and research	12% (n=6)
Favourable financial settlement	10% (n=5)
Pressure from department/university	4% (n=2)

For Brazilian respondents the main reason to retire is related to age, i.e. reaching the minimum retirement age for drawing full pension and/or reaching the compulsory retirement age. From the respondents, 64% (n=32) confirmed that reaching the retirement age was among their reasons to retire. Many expressed that reaching the retirement age – and a guaranteed income from a full pension - allowed them the freedom to consider pursuing goals other than full-time employment.

For a significant minority, 26% (n=13), the only reason to retire was related to reaching compulsory retirement age. Respondents' views on the rules of compulsory retirement age were largely negative; generally linked to the fact that compulsory retirement rules take away the power of individuals to control or make choices about their own retirement. One respondent summarised his frustration:

'I am active and healthy. This is disregarded by the rules of the compulsory [retirement age] (...). Retrograde legislation, when an individual reaches 70 years old he is seen as semi-disabled.' (José, 71yrs)

Dissatisfaction with the work situation was given as one of the main reasons to retire for 24% (n=12) of respondents. In some cases specific situations within the individual's department contributed to the decision to retire. Some respondents claimed that they were frustrated with departmental politics, feeling undervalued and experiencing particular situations that triggered retirement:

'The pressures and internal problems in my department wore me out considerably; at the same time I was lacking enthusiasm for new challenges.'

(Paulo, 53yrs)

'Work undervalued by the university, no perspective of personal development and in the department's research group, which I was part of. (...) I always felt very limited in my department for (internal) political reasons. I am proud of my work and I am considered a national expert in my area but I never felt valued at the University where I worked.' (Renato, 58yrs)

Against this, 76% of respondents (n=38) were sufficiently satisfied with the working situation pre-retirement that they did not consider this to be among the reasons to retire. Satisfaction with life pre-retirement was explicitly expressed by some respondents, when comparing life before and after retirement.

'Before retirement I was happy at my work and with the interaction with colleagues and students.' (Fernando, 70yrs)

The main reason pulling people toward retirement was connected to the desire to have more time for interests other than those related to academic work. This was reflected in 30% of responses (n=15). Retirement as an opportunity to do something else was clearly stated among respondents' comments: some wanted to pursue other activities, others needed to increase their income and retirement allowed them to draw pension and still be in receipt of a salary, however it was not clear if this was in the same institution [as re-employment] or in a different one.

Among the reasons often pushing people out of the workforce was the 'stress or illness of self or family member, with 24% of the responses citing this as a factor (n=12). Only 4% (n=2) reported being full-time carers. An excess of work and stress were clearly associated with the decision to retire for some of the respondents. Stress was among the root causes of ill health experienced just before retirement.

'The excess of work in my 35 years as a professor/teacher (32 in higher education) caused a lot of stress. For some years I felt considerably drained and I achieved less and less. This situation led me to a depression that pushed me to retirement.' (Pedro, 55yrs)

'I intended to retire only in 2010 [retired in 2006], but I was so worn out that I rushed into my retirement. It was like the routine at work drained me.' (Paulo, 53yrs)

One respondent, being disabled, expressed that the time to retire came when he felt that age was making it too difficult to cope with university teaching.

'In my case, I am disabled, with age, it was difficult to be moving around the university from one to another class; this indicated that it was time to depart from teaching activities.' (Claudio, 66yrs)

Organisational factors, with the exception of compulsory retirement age, did not play a major part in the decision to retire. Favourable financial settlements were among the reasons to retire for 10% of individuals (n=5), and pressure from the department or university was only expressed as a reason contributing to retirement for 4% of respondents (n=2).

For many individuals working at public [state owned] universities, the decision to retire was a reaction to government talks on changing the civil servants pension scheme, including for academic staff, to a less generous package. Some individuals,

concerned about losing benefits, opted for retirement before the new law came into force. These individuals had usually reached the minimum retirement age already.

Reasons to retire for academics in the UK

Responses in the case of the UK sample indicated that there was no single reason for retirement. Individuals retired due to a combination of factors, and indicated more than one reason from the options given in the questionnaire, as well as on written comments on the decision to retire. Table 7.4 summarises the responses for reasons to retire. These points are not mutually exclusive, therefore the figures presented on this table will not add up to 100% (n=50).

Table 7.4 Reasons to retire (UK)

Main reasons to retire – UK	
Reason	Frequency of responses
Reached 'retirement age'	42% (n=21)
Pressure from department/university	32% (n=16)
Wanted time to pursue other interests	30% (n=15)
Wanted more time for academic writing and research	30% (n=15)
Favourable financial settlement	22% (n=11)
Stress or illness of self or a family member	16% (n=8)
Dissatisfaction with aspects of work situation	12% (n=6)

Reaching retirement age played an important part in the decision to retire for 42% (n=21) of respondents. However, some commented that this was not the only reason to retire. The combination of different variables would make a particular moment in

time the right time to retire. Here, the timing of retirement was a window of opportunity not necessarily linked to a specific age or plans for the future.

'[is there an ideal age to retire] not the age, it's the circumstances.' (Stewart, 64yrs)

The main reason attracting people to retirement was connected to the desire to have more time for other interests or academic writing and research: 30% (n=15) of responses for both options. For two respondents, who had clearly defined plans for the future, retirement was the necessary route to achieve them. For them, retirement has brought the opportunity and time to pursue new life goals without the interruptions of day-to-day work and the priorities of others.

'Retirement from full-time academic work in 2005 allowed me to take my academic pension and use part of the lump sum to invest in my spin-off company.' (Dean, 67yrs)

'I could have continued to work until I was 67/8, but I retired at 65 so that I could finish the two books I was contracted to write.' (Andrew, 69yrs)

Among the reasons pushing people towards retirement, pressure from the department or the university was the most common and cited by 32% (n=16):

'My position is peculiar. I was forced into 'voluntary' severance in 2001, when the unit I headed was structured out of existence, but immediately re-engaged on a fractional appointment since my academic competences were essential to some activities. I triggered my pension when I hit 60 and would not lose from actuarial deductions, nor gain (much) from deferral. 60 is the 'normal' retirement age for modern universities operating TPS [Teachers' Pension scheme] schemes, in contrast to USS in the traditional institutions.' (James, 63yrs)

Stress or illness of self or family member was a reason to retire for a minority, (16%, n=8). From these only a small minority became full-time carers for their partners, (6%, n=3). Respondents noted that the increasing level of demands and stress in academia played a role in contributing to the decision to retire.

'Before retirement I was working over 60 hours a week in an increasingly stressful environment.' (William, 63yrs)

'It was becoming more difficult and arduous to keep chasing research funding.' (Roger, 67yrs)

12 % (n=6) expressed dissatisfaction with their work situation as a reasons to retire. A few individuals expressed profound frustration with the university environment prior to retirement. Their comments emphasised the influence of this frustration on the decision to retire. Dissatisfactions were related to changes to the university management, quality assurance and students' profile.

'[Reason to retire] In my case to escape the current overpowering political correctness, safety regimes, crass Uni Admin, the RAE [Research Assessment Exercise], and dumbing down of academic standards for degrees.' (David, 64yrs)

'I was fed up with the job: it left me before I left it! I was glad to get out, and I am completely happy in my new life.' (Stewart, 64yrs)

'[I retired so I] don't have to put up with all the nonsense from senior management; don't have to be involved in mindless research and teaching assessments, don't have to put up with the body of students who are increasingly not interested in their subject or working at their studies but only going to university to have a good time.' (Roger, 67yrs)

Expressions of work dissatisfaction were an exception among respondents. 88% (n=44) were sufficiently satisfied with the working situation pre-retirement and did not consider this to be among the reasons to retire. Respondents more frequently expressed a satisfaction towards their careers rather than a dissatisfaction. Many respondents clearly expressed that the decision to retire was connected to elements other than job satisfaction.

'I greatly enjoyed my professional life but after 8 years of a senior job [details removed], I felt that a change would be good. I greatly enjoy my retirement.'
(Simon, 65yrs)

'A number of changes at the university would make me stay for much longer. [involved in implementing and managing these changes]. It was the right moment.' (Paul, 67yrs)

Discussion

For many respondents in Brazil and the UK, there was found to be no single reason behind the decision to retire. However, it can be said that age, in different ways, played a part in the decision for most respondents. This was the most frequent response among respondents; 42% in the UK and 64% in Brazil - or 90% if the option 'reaching compulsory retirement age' is included. UK academics had, more often than their Brazilian counterparts, the desire to have more time to pursue their own research interests, 30% and 12% respectively. This might indicate that Brazilian academics have reduced research opportunities in comparison to UK academics, particularly after retirement.

Dissatisfaction with work conditions was more often a reason to retire in Brazil (24%) than in the UK (12%). In both countries, there were a minority of respondents who felt that frustration was a contributing factor for retirement. Most frequently

respondents' comments on academic career and work environment were positive; this was even more explicit in the responses from the UK sample.

Organisational factors in the decision to retire were clearly different for Brazilian and UK academics. Organisational pressure to retire was reported by a substantial minority of UK academics (32%) as one of the reasons to retire, in Brazil only a very small minority experienced this pressure (4%). Favourable financial settlement was more often a reason to retire in the UK than in Brazil, 22% and 10% respectively. In both countries, however, the ones offered a favourable financial package for retirement were a minority. UK academics commented that there was a connection to factors such as university restructuring, downsizing or the closure of departments.

For many Brazilian academics, the main organisational contributor to retirement was compulsory retirement age. This restriction, common to most universities, was picked up at the pilot study for the Brazilian sample. This reason to retire generated many comments which questioned the relevance of chronological age to fitness and performance at work. Academics who retired due to compulsory retirement age rules expressed negative views about it. There was no mention of compulsory retirement of any kind by the respondents from the UK sample in any stage of the data collection.

CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES IN THE TRANSITION TO RETIREMENT

This section explores the transition to retirement with a special attention to continuities and discontinuities following retirement. Continuity and discontinuity is an extensive topic and the focus of this study. Atchley (1999) argues that the continuity of ideas and lifestyle from middle to late life is a common adaptive strategy to changes. Continuity means the maintenance of consistent lifestyle patterns - internal i.e. ideas, values, etc, or external: i.e. place of residence, activities, etc - by keeping

them unchanged or by presenting only minor fluctuations. Whether retired academics are able to maintain consistent lifestyle patterns, especially with regard to their professional identity was explored in different ways throughout the survey.

For Brazilian and UK retired academics, the level of professional continuity following retirement was generally high. A summary of the responses from Brazilian and UK respondents can be found in Table 7.5 below.

Table 7.5 Academic involvement in retirement

Academic involvement in retirement	Brazil	UK
Part-time re-employment following retirement	38% (n=19)	56% (n=28)
Full-time re-employment following retirement	30% (n=15)	4% (n=2)
Currently involved in activities related to their former university or discipline	94% (n=47)	88% (n=44)

Among Brazilian respondents 68% (n=34) remained in paid employment following retirement, 38% part-time and 30% full-time. Among UK retired academics 62% (n=31) were employed after retiring, however unlike Brazilian academics, they were largely employed only on a part-time basis, 56% part-time as opposed to 4% full-time. This high level formal employment after retirement is consistent with Tizard and Owen's findings (2001) where 60% of the sample was re-employed. Some Brazilian and UK retired academics indicated that they would like to have had the option to take part-time employment following retirement, 22% (n=11) and 10% (n=5) respectively.

Regardless of formal employment, a large majority reported that they were currently involved in activities related to their former university or discipline, 94% of Brazilian and 88% of UK academic, indicating a high level of professional continuity in retirement.

The next two subsections explore further the continuities and discontinuities experienced by retired academics in their transition to retirement.

The transition to retirement for academics in Brazil

Many Brazilian respondents expressed the view that life after retirement had undergone very limited change. The continuity experienced in work after retirement, employment or volunteering, was described as making retirement only a formality. Some felt that they were doing the same activities as before retirement. One respondent commented that he considers his situation an exception.

'My academic and personal life didn't change following retirement because I continue working full-time and with the same workload as before. (...) I know that my situation is special, because as nothing changed I have no comments on life in retirement.' (Jorge, 70yrs)

Others explained that they continued working in academia following retirement with only minor changes to their previous workload. Usually these changes were related to having more time, relinquished administrative responsibilities or teaching undergraduates.

'In reality, nothing really changed in my life. I simply have a bit more time to devote to scientific literature, to take part in more meetings with post-grad students and a wider involvement in research.' (Helio, 57yrs)

'In reality, I only retired formally, as I am working full-time in a University, but without having to exercise administrative functions as before my retirement.' (Luis, 65yrs)

'My life hasn't changed much, I don't have to give classes for undergraduates anymore, but I have many research students to supervise, and they take most of my time at the university.' (Antonio, 72yrs)

It emerged that retirement from the university does not mean retirement from work. This might be related to the fact that many respondents had parallel occupations at some point during their working lives and for some that was still true at the time of retirement. One respondent explains what had changed in retirement.

'I can't say there was a big difference. I retired from academic activities, I haven't retired from work. I am not sure if I am clear, after retirement I haven't stop working, the big difference is that today I accept or don't accept the work that is offered to me, I am free to choose, to stay or drop an activity. I have absolute freedom to manage my activities.' (Carlos, 66yrs)

Another respondent commented that even though his routine has not changed much he would like to slow down to make the transition to leisurely activities.

'At the moment my life hasn't changed much, but slowly I would like to devote myself to other activities, like painting which I always enjoyed but never had time to practise.' (Julio, 71yrs)

The continuity experienced by the respondents was achieved in different ways. Some remained employed by the same university, part-time or full-time. For some respondents from public universities, retirement was an opportunity to move from the public to the private sector. Some took part-time, others full-time, positions bringing valuable skills to private higher education institutions (i.e. university centres, independent faculties, etc). One respondent pointed out that in his new department he is not the only retired academic:

'The environment that you find at the Master Degree courses is very exciting; there are other retired colleagues that are part of it and others, until then

unknown, beginning their careers. By being a private university centre there are challenges related to the institution and to students.' (Fabio, 70yrs)

The academic activities performed by the respondents are summarised in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 Academic activities since retirement (BR)

Activity since retirement - Brazil	Frequency of responses
University teaching	74% (n=37)
Conference attendance	72% (n=36)
Presented papers at conferences	62% (n=31)
Involvement in research, including library research for book writing	66% (n=33)
Book writing, including contributions to chapters and editing	66% (n=33)
Research supervision	66% (n=33)
Publication of papers and articles	64% (n=32)
Research proposals reviewing	62% (n=31)
Books or articles reviewing	52% (n=26)
Spoken to the media about academic issues since retirement	46% (n=23)
University examining	38% (n=19)
University administration, educational or disciplines-related committees	38% (n=19)
Journal editing	28% (n=14)
Other academic related activities they had been involved with formally or informally since retirement	52% (n=26)

Among the activities performed in retirement, teaching is the most prevalent cited by nearly three-quarters of respondents (74%, n=37). This reflects the fact that in Brazil, teaching is the main activity of academic staff. Among those that are teaching, 22%

(n=8) were fully paid for their teaching, 27% (n=10) were paid for some teaching and 51% (n=19) received no pay at all. These numbers demonstrate that a high frequency of teaching is done voluntarily in retirement. Research activities show similar patterns. From 33 respondents conducting research in retirement, 30% (n=10) had their research fully funded, 18% (n=6) received some funding for their research and 48% (n=16) received no funding at all. This might be an indication that complete funding or pay is not necessarily important for retirees' engagement in research and teaching. Among the respondents 62% (n=31) would not necessarily want to have been paid for academic work carried out in retirement.

Voluntary academic work was practiced by retired academics; many reported being involved in academic work or work related to their discipline on a voluntarily basis. Most of the respondents performed their volunteer activities in their former university; some would combine part-time employment, with their former employer or other institution, and part-time volunteering. Unusually, some individuals find it difficult to accept the idea of unpaid work in their former institutions.

'I could share my personal experience with students and young doctors. To get out of the house without pay, I wouldn't.' (Manuel, 65yrs)

Table 7.6 demonstrates extensive involvement in a range of academic activities, this being more evident in teaching and research related activities. This involvement may be due to the fact that 68% of the sample declared that they were re-employed after retirement, either full or part-time. Research related activities, like publishing, supervision, the presentation of papers in conferences, contributing to books, reviewing of research proposals and other activities, were connected to the high number of respondents from research intense universities (see Chapter Four). In these universities, academic staff generally have opportunities to be involved in research throughout their careers and in some cases after retirement. In addition to this, the

prestige and status associated with these universities make it easier for retired academics to continue publishing.

The continuity experienced was interpreted by respondents in different ways. Some simply felt happy to have had the opportunity to work, others interpreted it as a change in work arrangements or institution. One respondent interpreted his experience of continuity as still being in the process of retirement, he reports being still engaged in academic commitments with his former university and therefore being 'in transition' to a fully retired status.

'I believe I am still in the middle of the transition, because I continue supervising doctorates, masters, scientific initiation, leading a research group, presenting scientific work in events, publishing, revising research proposals for funding bodies and articles for scientific publications.' (Marcos, 72yrs)

The responses reviewed above provide a good indication that there is a high level of involvement in academic pursuits after retirement. However, when formally asked about the amount of time devoted to academic activities, the responses were distributed as follows. For 40% of the respondents (n=20) academic activities took more than half of their time; 12% of the respondents (n=6) stated that academic activities took about half of their time and 14% (n=7) stated that academic activities took less than half of their time. 26% of respondents (n=13) declared that they spend no time, or virtually no time, in academic pursuits. This question on the time devoted to academic activities helps to clarify that although 94% (n=47) of respondents declared that they were involved in or had being involved in academic pursuits since retirement, for many respondents this involvement was infrequent.

In the literature on continuity, Atchley (1999) argues that individuals do not necessarily need to be engaged in formal activities to have a sense of continuity. They might get a sense of continuity by remaining informally engaged with their discipline and research area. The desire to be up to date with academic developments may be

an indicator of continuity of identity, regardless of actual involvement in academic activities. The answers are summarised in Table 7.7 below.

Table 7.7 Other sources of professional continuity (BR)

Other sources of professional continuity – Brazil	
Reading	Frequency of responses
Continued reading academic articles in their field	84% (n=42)
Kept their volume of reading the same as before retirement	34% (n=17)
Started to read more than before	26% (n=13)
Reduced their volume of reading but nevertheless kept the academic reading habit	24% (n=12)
Former colleagues	Frequency of responses
Kept in touch with former colleagues with whom they had the opportunity to discuss academic and discipline-related issues	70% (n=35)

Academic reading was an activity maintained for most of the sample, 84% responses (n=42), with 39% of respondents (n=17) reading the same volume of academic journals and books as before. A minority of respondents, 26% (n=13), stated that they read more academic books and articles since retiring. It can be inferred that retirement does not necessarily affect the desire to keep up to date. For some, this might even bring more opportunities for reading as other activities are less intense.

Although 94% of the respondents stated that they had been involved in academic activities since retirement, only 70% (n=35) still kept in touch with former colleagues with whom they had the opportunity to discuss academic/discipline related issues. Consistent with the comments on 'time spent in academic activities' this might reinforce the indication that for many the academic activities were insufficient to

promote such contacts or these activities might have been discontinued over the years in retirement. Academic reading and contact with former peers may be a contributor to maintaining a sense of belonging to the academic community and therefore giving a sense of continuity.

Some respondents voiced their difficulties in relinquishing academic activities. They often referred to the academic work more as a vocation than a job. They discussed an inability to stop working after so many years devoting themselves to academic work and their discipline of choice, regardless of being attached to an institution.

'After 35 years of academic life and 44 of professional life I feel incapable of interrupting it all to be doing absolutely nothing.' (João, 68yrs)

'For a researcher it is impossible to stop, particularly for someone that has been working since 1959 and has always had education as a life priority.' (Gustavo, 70yrs)

Comments indicated that the retirement of academics should be phased. The advantages to phasing the retirement of academics would unfold into advantages for the individuals and advantages for the organisation. For the individual, the phasing of retirement would make working for longer more realistic and it would help to reduce the impact of retirement.

'I have always defended the right of academics, after 25 years of work, to use the time and experience at a slower pace. This would prevent early retirement, with serious personal losses due to the emptiness left to those that devoted to this profession and that wouldn't stop reading and studying just for not having a job anymore.' (Pedro, 55yrs)

For the organisation, phased retirement helps the individual to retire later and transfer knowledge and best practice to younger staff.

'In my opinion retirement should be phased in a way that the individual could work less and in roles where experience is important, and work closely with younger people – so they could transfer organisational knowledge, culture and best practices.' (Guilherme, 67yrs)

Even though most of the respondents expressed a satisfaction with academic activities in retirement, there were a few who expressed the desire to have more time for leisure. For this smaller group, no balance was achieved in retirement – the desired retirement job came with a workload heavier than expected.

At different points of the survey, respondents were encouraged to explore other changes experienced since retirement. These changes might have been major or minor and had different levels of impact on the continuity of identity and lifestyle. Among the changes described, the loss of members of the family was mentioned by some respondents.

Changes in health status or related to disability and caring responsibilities might also present a barrier to continuity in retirement, though for this sample this was not necessarily the case. Among the respondents, health and disability of self, partner or a dependant has not had any impact on the ability to carry out academic work for 70% of them, (n=35). For 86% of the sample (n=43), caring responsibility was no more than an occasional event. However, ill health of self or partner was often mentioned.

'My life really changed after retirement, but that was because of the health problems [respondent had been diagnosed with cancer]. I don't have any reason to complain about life, even though age starts to impact on my day-to-day.' (Bernardo, 63yrs)

For others involved in caring activities, 14% (n=7) had caring as a regular commitment, 4% of respondents (n=2) were full- time carers.

Although, continuity in lifestyles appeared as the dominant pattern, discontinuities were also experienced. These were not discussed at length by respondents although common points emerged. Positive discontinuities included 'no involvement in administration' and 'no need to be dealing with university's internal bureaucracy'. Among negative discontinuities many mentioned missing being part of a 'wider range' of academic activities, including having contact with undergraduate students, research students or lecturing. Some felt that their skills were under-utilised. One respondent refers to the loss of status attached to the retired label, and the way it reflects on the credibility of his work.

'I notice that when I got give a talk, the professor who invited me avoids mentioning I am retired. For younger people being retired is lower status.'
(Renato, 58yrs)

Most of this sample retired from the public sector having the right to a generous pension from state and federal universities. However, there was a small group, who retired from private universities who experienced a considerable reduction of income after retirement. One respondent reported that the changes in his financial situation prevented retirement from being an enjoyable period, another explains that with time he could adapt to the lower income.

'The salary loss was frustrating but I am already adapting to this new level. There was an interesting secondary effect: very dependent children received a push.' (Vitor, 70yrs)

The amount and type of continuity in academic activities in retirement can only be relevant if it is related to respondents' levels of satisfaction following retirement. As life satisfaction is a broad concept, in this section only satisfaction with the amount of academic activities will be explored. In the next section on the Brazilian sample, life satisfaction in general and attitudes towards retirement will be discussed thoroughly.

Table 7.8 Satisfaction with the amount of academic involvement (BR)

Satisfaction with amount of academic involvement – Brazil	Frequency of responses
Satisfied with their current amount of involvement in academic related activities	60% (n=30)
Would like to do less	16% (n=8)
Would like to be more involved than currently	8% (n=4)
Would do more if paid	6% (n=3)
Did not respond to this question	10% (n=5)

When asked about the amount of satisfaction with academic involvement in retirement 60% (n=30) of the respondents were satisfied with the current involvement in academia. A minority, 16% (n=8), reported a desire to do less in retirement. This might be connected to a continuation of employment in retirement or the move from public sector to private sector after retirement. A few respondents had expressed negative attitudes towards working voluntarily, consistent with these comments 6% (n=3) of the respondents commented that they would do more work if they were paid for this work.

This question generated various comments on elements of satisfaction in retirement in general. Some respondents' comments reflected the idea of acceptance of retirement as a different stage of life, but equally satisfying once the adaptation process is over.

'There's a time for everything. The high volume of activities and demands, worries and uncertainties and little space for leisure requires a good health, high energy and some will to take risks and adventures. Achieving some goals and learning from the ones unachieved. With time, the experiences, the maturity acquired, the physical and health changes, new perspectives appear, other values, other dreams or activities interrupted by life, makes changes

such as retirement to be incorporated little by little until it becomes a satisfactory life option.' (Igor, 56yrs)

The transition to retirement for academics in the UK

Generally, the responses suggest that the transition to retirement for UK academics is not an abrupt process, but gradual. Even though for most respondents there was rarely a formal winding down nor a semi-retired position, moving to part-time or contract work after drawing the pension was a common practice used to bridge the gap between work and retirement. Among the respondents that took part-time employment after retirement, some highlighted the advantage of a gradual transition to retirement.

'...my transition from full-time to almost no formal working has been very gradual and this has suited me very well.' (John, 67yrs)

'I have been very lucky to have had some opportunity for part-time work last year as it avoided a sudden break with my university and it softened the financial decline in my income.' (Steve, 64yrs)

'To be reemployed one day a week is important to me as it enabled me to retain contact with the University and continue to support the department.' (Jeremy, 63yrs)

Other respondents explained that to create a feeling of gradual reduction of academic activities, they were still managing the level of commitments, slowly discontinuing each activity instead of ceasing all of them at once:

'This work in total will be reduced progressively as I get older, as my wife retires and as I adjust to not working full-time.' (Derek, 57yrs)

'I have been slowly reducing commitments - voluntary as well as paid - and that may now be starting to show in time management and choices. (...) I have travelled as part of my role and do not like long holidays, so there are none of the 'things to do before you die' on the agenda.' (James, 63yrs)

Table 7.9 Academic activities since retirement (UK)

Activity since retirement – UK	Frequency of responses
Involvement in research, including library research for book writing	78% (n=39)
Conference attendance	70% (n=35)
Presented papers at conferences	52% (n=26)
University teaching	64% (n=32)
Publication of papers and articles	62% (n=31)
Books or articles reviewing	58% (n=29)
Book writing, including contributions to chapters and editing	54% (n=27)
Research supervision	52% (n=26)
University examining	48% (n=24)
Research proposals reviewing	38% (n=19)
University administration, educational or disciplines-related committees	36% (n=18)
Journal editing	18% (n=9)
Spoken to the media about academic issues since retirement	18% (n=9)
Other academic related activities they had been involved with formally or informally since retirement	70% (n=35)

When asked about academic activities in retirement, respondents gave a variety of responses. This might indicate that individuals take different options regarding activities in the transition from work to full retirement. Research is the most prevalent

activity among respondents, (78%, n=39). This might be related to a large number of respondents (42%, n=21) holding a professorship, or simply related to the fact that research offers more flexibility and therefore might be preferred by retired academics. On the other hand, institutions might offer retired academics more opportunities for research where their knowledge is specialised and relevant. Interestingly, attendance at conferences was also a common activity for retired academics (70%, n=35) which is consistent with a strong involvement in research activities and the desire to keep up to date. Among those that are conducting research in retirement 23% (n=9) had their research fully funded, 59% (n=23) received some funding for their research and 18% (n=7) received no funding at all. This might be an indication that funding is not a requirement or a motivator to carry out research.

A similar pattern can be found for teaching activities. From the thirty two respondents (64% of the sample) who were engaged in teaching since retirement, 65% (n=21) were fully paid for their teaching, 25% (n=8) were paid for some of the teaching and 9% (n=3) received no pay at all. Among the respondents 88% (n=44) would not necessarily want to have been paid for academic work carried out in retirement.

Table 7.9, on activities since retirement, shows that there was a reasonably high level of involvement in a variety of activities, as mentioned, and this is specially noted in research and teaching. The findings from this study are consistent with these of Tizard and Owen's (2001) study. Their study indicated that 69% of the academics were still engaged to some extent in either university teaching or research or both, whether paid or unpaid (Tizard and Owen, 2001).

In order to completely understand academic involvement in retirement it is also important to enquire about the amount of time devoted to academic activities in retirement. When asked about the amount of time devoted to academic activities the responses were distributed evenly, reflecting different work arrangements in retirement. For 32% (n=16), academic activities took more than half of their time;

32% (n=16) stated that academic activities took about half of their time and a further 32% (n=16) stated that academic activities took less than half of their time. Only 4% (n=2) of respondents declared that they spend no or very little time in academic pursuits.

Regardless of the amount of time retired academics spent in academic-related activities, those who were still active were aware that the work flow was likely to slow down as time goes by.

'I am a fit 69, and happy to keep going for the time being. Writing up research gives me great satisfaction. (..). I am well aware that I shall not be able to go on like this forever!' (Andrew, 69yrs)

'I have just done a 5 week lecture/mentoring trip around Australia because if I leave it too long I might not be fit enough!' (Phil, 63yrs)

'Book nearly finished. Uncertain what will fill the void.' (Adam, 63yrs)

Adjustment to retirement had been a concern at some point for many respondents, some referred to the fact that they enjoyed 'being busy' and others to a fear of 'having nothing to do'. Some individuals emphasised the importance of work for them and the ideal of continuing for as long as possible. One respondent highlighted his difficulty in pursuing leisure as he still looked forward to opportunities of paid work.

'I need training in leisure. I find it hard to plan ahead so as to put leisure activities at the top of my list, and still look forward to opportunities for paid work or a chance to talk about academic subjects.' (Barry, 62yrs)

Some individuals expressed their initial impact to being retired, expressing their difficulties in adjusting to retirement.

'Initially I found retirement difficult but I have adapted with time. It was/is important that I continued with some teaching/research so that the change could be made over a period of time.' (Gordon, 68yrs)

'Initially difficult, now easier. Have kept busy, difficult to say no with the resource of time at one's disposal.' (Arthur, 66yrs)

The theme of getting into a routine emerged from respondents in this study; some felt that they did not have a set routine, and that the lack of routine in retirement can be unsettling.

'If you are given to being a worrier and indecisive at times, the lack of routine [in retirement] does magnify that. You become an Olympic medallist at displacement activities.' (Brian, 62yrs)

'Life is now far less structured. Work does give that structure in that you know you can block out long periods of time as you will be involved in work. In a sense life is now more difficult to manage - perhaps as I build up my portfolio of work interests.' (Martin, 66yrs)

Even though getting into a new routine was difficult for some respondents, many achieved a good balance between academic pursuits and other activities. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, according to the Continuity Theory (Atchley, 1999) individuals might get a sense of continuity, not only from being engaged in formal activities but also by remaining informally engaged, i.e. with their discipline or research area. Academic reading and contact with former colleagues may be an indicator of a continuity of identity, regardless of actual involvement in academic activities. The responses are summarised in Table 7.10.

Table 7.10 Other sources of professional continuity (UK)

Other sources of continuity – UK	
Reading	Frequency of responses
Continue reading academic articles in their field	98% (n=49)
Kept their volume of reading the same as before retirement	54% (n=27)
Reduced their volume of reading but nevertheless kept the academic reading habit	34% (n=17)
Started to read more than before	10% (n=5)
Former colleagues	Frequency of responses
Kept in touch with former colleagues with whom they had the opportunity to discuss academic and discipline-related issues	88% (n=44)

When asked about the level of academic reading, 98% (n=49) of the respondents stated that they continue reading academic articles and books in their field. The actual volume of reading had not changed for 54% (n=27); a minority, 10% (n=5) stated that in retirement they read more than before. These findings may indicate that the motivation to read academic/discipline related publications is not related to working full-time. This indicates that retirement does not necessarily affect the desire to keep up to date, and for some it might bring more opportunities for reading, as other activities are less intense.

From the sample, 88% (n=44) still kept in touch with former colleagues with whom they had the opportunity to discuss academic/discipline related issues. This figure is identical to the one found previously when respondents were asked about their current involvement in activities related to their former university or discipline. Involvement in activities would most often lead to meeting former colleagues; however being in touch

informally may also maintain a sense of belonging to the academic community and therefore continuity.

In general, individuals managed to maintain continuity through employment, contract work, volunteering, writing, or simply by keeping in touch. On the other hand, there was a certain level of discontinuity. Some of the positive discontinuities included 'less paperwork', 'no involvement in administration' and 'no marking'. Negative discontinuities were also highlighted and in the qualitative section of the survey, individuals referred to these discontinuities as losses.

'[In retirement] There is definitely a loss, to which I am still adjusting (...) Identity is often work-related for men, so it is hard to admit to being retired, and hard to accept that one's opinions are no longer of much interest.' (Barry, 62yrs)

Another discontinuity often mentioned was with regard to access to academic resources. Once retired, this was a challenge for some retired academics who tried to keep their research interests going or simply to keep up to date.

'It's sometimes a bit difficult to keep current as a somewhat semi-detached previous staff member.' (Christopher, 65yrs)

Some respondents mentioned their attempts to overcome limitations by using online content. Different attitudes towards the limited access to their former university's library and facilities emerged. While some individuals seem to be pleased to be getting something from their former university, others resent the restrictions.

'I very much appreciate the academic visitor's room that is made available, on a shared basis, to retired staff by my former Department, and continued access to the Library, but on a more restricted basis.' (Mike, 70yrs)

'As an Emeritus Professor I think that the university I worked for should provide more access to the book library, reprographics, post, and electronic library access than it does.' (Charles, 69yrs)

From the respondents who believed that they should have been given more access to resources one explained how he felt about the access to knowledge resources.

'Being an independent scholar without access to the knowledge resources that taxpayers fund but which universities restrict to themselves is irksome and not easy. But being experienced and crafty, I find ways round that!' (Brian, 62yrs)

Other life changes are likely to affect continuity in retirement. In the survey, respondents were encouraged to explore the life changes experienced after retirement. These were major or minor and had different levels of impact on the continuity of identity and lifestyle. Health, disability and caring responsibilities often present a barrier to continuity in retirement. In this sample however, health and disability of self or partner or a dependant has not had any impact on the ability to carry out academic work for most of the respondents, 84% (n=42). For 78% (n=39) a caring responsibility or child minding was an occasional event or did not occur.

From the respondents who were involved in caring activities, 16% (n=8) carried this out as a regular commitment, and 6% (n=3) of respondents were full-time carers. The desire to support a partner or a family member going through a period of poor health was mentioned as a reason to retire and in some cases a reason not to get heavily involved in academic activities.

Among other major life changes that affected continuity was the loss of a partner and the start of a new business or consultancy was also indicated by two respondents. Different events lead to the experience of fundamental changes in life priorities after retirement. There was a shift in the importance of work and career connected to

illness or the loss of a member of the family. One respondent attributed these as changes connected with middle age rather than being related to retirement.

'Mother died 2 months after my retirement. Plans were to continue to spend more time with her as I had been unable to do so while at work. This led to a massive downgrading of the priority of all forms of work commitment in favour of personal and family leisure.' (Jonathan, 64yrs)

'I used to think that university lecturer wasn't what I did, it was what I was. But I get on very well without that aspect of myself [respondent cared for terminally ill wife for two years just after retirement].' (Stewart, 64yrs)

'...it is hard to know whether your changing attitudes to life are to do with 'retirement' or the fact that after middle age you appreciate more and more that all the things that obsessed you in middle age, especially your career, are of little or no consequence in the long run.' (Brian, 62yrs)

No other major change emerged and there was no major indication regarding future plans for most; however some expressed the desire to get involved in specific volunteer work or activities related to personal interests. Some of the respondents relocated after retirement to other places in the UK, usually not far from their previous residence. Among concerns about the future, some indicated the future health of themselves and partners. There was no reference to long term financial concerns.

Life satisfaction in retirement is an important element regarding the responses on the amount and type of continuity in academic activities in retirement. Life satisfaction is a broad concept and for that reason in this section only satisfaction with the amount of academic activities is explored. The next section relates to the UK sample and their life satisfaction in general and attitudes towards retirement.

Table 7.11 Satisfaction with the amount of academic involvement (UK)

Satisfaction with amount of academic involvement - UK	Frequency of responses
Satisfied with their current amount of involvement in academic related activities	78% (n=39)
Would like to be more involved than currently	12% (n=6)
Would do more if paid	6% (n=3)
Would like to do less	4% (n=2)

The majority of respondents, 78% (n=39), were satisfied with their current involvement in academia. The majority reported a sense of satisfaction from still being involved in academia, or being able to use their academic skills. Some described themselves as being fortunate to have academic related opportunities in retirement.

'I'm fortunate that my life is very full, still full of activities and where I can exercise my academic skills and knowledge, as well my managerial experience.'
(Paul, 67yrs)

'I have been lucky that research grants have continued, and this keeps me very busy; even more so than when I was a full-time staff member.' (Derek, 57yrs)

One respondent stated that he would not necessarily like to do more, but would like to be involved in other types of activities, such as administration/management, which he felt was more consistent with his professional identity. A minority would like to be more involved in academic related activities, 12% (n=6), and very few would like to do less. A small number of respondents indicated they would do more academic work if they were paid for it. It was clear from qualitative answers that even though work is not central to many of the respondents' lives it still seems to be an important aspect

of life for many, bringing intrinsic rewards. Having the opportunity and choice to work at their own pace was a valued feature of working in retirement for most.

Discussion

Similarities and differences in patterns of continuity in retirement for Brazilian and UK academics is a particular interest in this research. The results of the survey show that the number of respondents that had been involved since retirement in each academic activity listed in the questionnaire are similar in the Brazil and the UK. For each country the large majority of survey respondents claim to be involved with their former university or discipline since retirement. The work arrangements regarding how these activities were allocated and the amount of time spent on them varied among both samples.

The amount of time devoted to academic activities in Brazil and the UK can be said to reflect employment arrangements in retirement. Reviewing the Brazilian and UK pattern of responses to the amount of time spent in academic activities a clear difference is revealed. The UK responses are balanced between – (1) academic activities take most of my time, (2) academic activities take half of my time, (3) academic activities take less than half of my time - with a very few respondents having very little or no involvement in academic activities. The Brazilian responses, on the other hand, tended to the extremes of the continuum on the amount of time spent in academia, with a majority stating that academic activities take more than a half of their time and a minority stating that they spend very little or no time in academic activities in retirement. This might be connected to the fact that there are more options regarding work arrangement and involvement available to retired academics in the UK than in Brazil. Further comments from the survey clearly demonstrated the differences in working practices following retirement. Following retirement, UK academics tend to take on part-time positions or get involved in discipline-related

projects, such as writing books or business ventures. Brazilian academics tend to take full-time employment, contract work or voluntarily work. Very few had the option of part-time work.

The survey generated many comments regarding academic involvement in retirement from both UK and Brazilian respondents. For many Brazilian academics, life has not changed significantly. There are different work arrangements, like full or part-time employment, a continuation of a parallel occupation, volunteer academic work. These arrangements bring for retirees the feeling that life continues with minor changes or adjustments. Many academics from the public sector took employment opportunities in the private sector. The cessation of employment, for many Brazilians, does not mean retirement from academic work; some felt that the transition from full-time employment to complete retirement is an ongoing process that may be prolonged for many years.

Among the UK sample, retirement also tended to be a process rather than an event. Differently from the Brazilian sample, there was no mention of full-time employment or volunteer work in their former university since retirement; however it appeared common to engage in part-time employment prior to or following retirement. This practice helped to bridge the gap between work and full retirement, and many saw the advantages of this gradual transition. Some respondents even controlled the level of involvement in activities and groups outside work, like committees and professional groups, in order to create the feeling of gradual transition. Overall, a majority reported being pleased that there were opportunities for academic work in retirement; especially as this happened at a gentler pace. Even though continuity was experienced in different ways by Brazilian and UK academics, it is clear that both groups experienced it to a certain level.

Concerns regarding the adjustment to retirement were expressed by UK respondents. The fear of not being able to fill the gap of time left by work was among the main

issues. Brazilian and UK survey respondents expressed the importance of work and the difficulties in relinquishing academic work, regardless of employment. Some respondents, from both samples, expressed difficulty in adjusting to retirement; such as finding it difficult to build a daily routine or to deal with the idea of stopping working after so many years devoted to academia. Some Brazilian respondents suggested retirement should be formally phased out, in order to avoid the impact for retirees and the institution.

In both samples, many respondents commented that they achieved a balance between academic activities and other interests. In both countries the majority reported being satisfied with the amount of academic involvement since retirement.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS RETIREMENT

In this section the attitudes towards retirement of Brazilian and UK retired academics are explored. This section presents the responses and comments from the Brazilian and UK samples separately, followed by a discussion on important similarities and differences.

Brazilian academics and their attitudes towards retirement

For attitudes towards retirement, respondents were allowed to mark multiple answers. Table 7.12 summarises responses on attitudes towards retirement. Respondents added additional statements to these below and they are discussed later in this chapter.

Table 7.12 Attitudes towards retirement (BR)

Attitudes towards retirement – Brazil	
Positive statements	Frequency of responses
Happy with the possibility of still working in their area of knowledge and expertise	72% (n=36)
Appreciated the freedom to arrange their time as they liked	70% (n=35)
Appreciated having more time to pursue their own research interest	54% (n=27)
Appreciated having more time for family	54% (n=27)
Appreciated the fact that they had more time to pursue other activities and interests	48% (n=24)
Feeling better and healthier following retirement	42% (n=21)
Felt relieved that they did not have the same pressure and stress from work as before retirement	36% (n=18)
Retirement brought new opportunities	36% (n=18)
Negative Statements	
Missed contact with the students	34% (n=17)
Missed social contact with other members of staff	20% (n=10)
Missed the status of being employed by a university	10% (n=5)
Missed the institutional support that they previously received from the university to do academic work	6% (n=3)
No longer feel valued for their knowledge and experience	6% (n=3)
Felt 'out of the game' after retirement	6% (n=3)
Found it difficult to get into a routine	2% (n=1)

Attitudes towards retirement were largely positive. Many respondents reported that life improved after retirement. They felt life in retirement was more satisfying and allowed a more balanced existence. A contributor to this satisfaction was the opportunity for academic pursuits; being active in their former discipline or university was the most frequently marked answer 72% of respondents (n=36) were pleased to be able to use their skills and knowledge in retirement.

'The possibility of being here in Brazil, devoting myself to teaching, research supervision and research without major stress from extremely bureaucratic administrative functions, is already very satisfying. To know that I will never be the dean of department again, or have whatever administrative function!!! This is what I call happy retirement!!!' (Luiz, 65yrs)

In addition, the improved quality of life was associated with a less stressful life, with more choice and autonomy. Some of the responses reflected a feeling of liberation, 70% of respondents (n=35), said that they had more freedom to arrange their time as they like.

For a number of respondents, retirement meant a relief from daily stresses related to work. Different people pointed to different sources of stress during employment, largely related to the pressures of meeting tight deadlines and the high volume of activities. Some appreciated that in retirement, deadlines were more flexible and 'demands' less rigid, allowing a more paced lifestyle. Others pointed out that there was more time to look after their own health – exercising, going to check-ups, looking after their diet. Moving away from the traffic and urban violence of big cities was a stress relief brought by retirement. One respondent pointed to the relief of not being pressurised to outperform and compete with peers.

'[Satisfaction in retirement is...] not to have the worry about comparing yourself to your peers.' (Florian, 64yrs)

Appreciating more time for family and other activities, was highlighted by 54% percent of the respondents (n=27). It can be inferred that freedom over one's own time and more flexibility are important positive aspects of retirement. From respondents' comments it emerged that the enhanced autonomy, with opportunities for continuity, was among the main contributing factors leading to life satisfaction in retirement. The discussion on autonomy over activities and time extended to different areas, like freedom to choose between leisure, family, academic and other activities.

For a minority, 36% (n=18), retirement brought an opportunity to change. The start of new activities was mentioned in the comments from two respondents. One respondent summarised:

'Retirement is an opportunity to change, or at least to make small changes of direction. As we are always learning, retirement is a unique opportunity for learning more, particularly in my case; I left my original field of work to work in a different one, however with a number of common points to the former.'
(Francisco, 60yrs)

Very few respondents expressed negative attitudes towards retirement. Where they were expressed, the two most often highlighted responses were missing the contact with students, 34% (n=17), and missing the social contact with other members of staff, 20% (n=10):

'I miss lecturing and the contact with the students. I suppose you can't have it all.' (Ricardo, 74yrs)

It can be said that 98% percent of the participants (n=49) did not find it difficult to settle into a new routine. This might be connected to the level of professional continuity individuals carried out in retirement. Overall, the majority of comments reflected a general sense of satisfaction with life in retirement.

Table 7.13 Contentment as consequence of retiring (BR)

Contentment as consequence of retiring - Brazil	Frequency of responses
More content in retirement than before retirement	48% (n=24)
Neither more nor less content retirement	42% (n=21)
Less content following retirement	6% (n=3)
Cannot answer	4% (n=2)

Respondents indicated contentment with life in retirement, 90% (n=45) declared that they were more content or as content in retirement as before retirement. The factors associated with contentment were explored in open questions included in the questionnaire. For many respondents, the freedom to choose the academic activities they want to be engaged in was among the greatest advantages to life in retirement over pre-retirement. When choosing academic activities, some opted for what they considered more interesting, for others what their health allowed them to do. A general sense of relief from not having to deal with university administration was voiced.

'I kept the supervision of masters and doctorate students. I participate in a research group in the University, more in the background, as I wanted it like this. I also intend to give a course per year.' (Pedro, 55yrs)

'I only do what I like: writing or taking part in panels. Sometimes I informally supervise students that come to me, I help young researchers to get in touch with people or institutions, I go to talks, I do consultancy from time to time, lecture mini-courses and read a lot.' (Renato, 58yrs)

The freedom to choose activities was usually associated with the fact that the pension was already meeting the immediate financial needs. The options available were mainly to do contract work, consultancy or volunteering.

'Retirement enabled me to work with more tranquillity as there is a certainty about the financial resources from the status of retired' (Joaquim, 57yrs)

UK academics and their attitudes towards retirement

On the questionnaire section on attitudes towards retirement, UK respondents were allowed to mark multiple answers. Consistent with the findings of Tizard and Owen (2001), positive attitudes were marked more than negative. Table 7.14 summarises responses on attitudes towards retirement.

Table 7.14 Attitudes towards retirement (UK)

Attitudes towards retirement – UK	
Positive statements	Frequency of responses
Happy with the possibility of still working in their area of knowledge and expertise	86% (n=43)
Appreciated the freedom to arrange their time as they liked	82% (n=41)
Appreciated the fact that they had more time to pursue other activities and interests	82% (n=41)
Appreciated having more time to pursue their own research interest	56% (n=28)
Retirement brought new opportunities	50% (n=25)
Felt relieved that they did not have the same pressure and stress from work as before retirement	48% (n=24)
Feeling better and healthier following retirement	48% (n=24)
Appreciated having more time with family	42% (n=21)
Negative statements	
Missed contact with the students	28% (n=14)
Missed social contact with other members of staff	18% (n=9)
Missed the institutional support that they previously received from the university to do academic work	10% (n=5)
Felt 'out of the game' after retirement	8% (n=4)
No longer feel valued for their knowledge and experience	4% (n=2)
Missed the status of being employed by a university	2% (n=1)
Found it difficult to get into a routine	2% (n=1)

Attitudes towards retirement were largely positive; 86% (n=43) indicated that they were pleased to be able to use their skills and knowledge in retirement. When explaining what made life more satisfying in retirement, responses reflected a better life balance with less stress as a consequence of having more time, more freedom and control over life and choice of activities. The respondents indicated that the stresses from working life were considerably reduced after retirement. For some this was due to the possibility of working at a gentler pace, for others the reduced level of responsibilities.

'Life is less stressful, and I greatly enjoy being able to get on with some scholarship at my own pace.' (Charles, 69yrs)

'Responsibility brings stress - I can now be relatively irresponsible.' (Mark, 63yrs)

'Much the same, but with less stress. I have done most of what I wanted to and in that sense am fairly satisfied with my life so far. I have no major objectives to fulfil. I can cruise and pick and choose.' (Jason, 68yrs)

The second most frequently marked statements, both with 82% (n=41) responses, were related to having more time for other activities and more freedom to arrange their time. As the pressure and the commitments of working life are generally reduced individuals have more time for their own interests, and more time for leisure, family and home. The ownership of their own time was often associated with life satisfaction in the qualitative responses.

A higher level of control over professional and personal interests was pointed out as a source of satisfaction in retirement. Retirees highlighted the possibility of choosing what activities to engage in and how the work was organised - a positive aspect to retirement.

'I have stopped doing the boring things of academic life such as admin, marking, teaching standard stuff to a curriculum and do the things I find most interesting.' (Jeff, 69yrs)

'Since I am now in control of jobs I choose or reject to do, It would be my own fault if the answer was not 'yes'![to retirement satisfaction] However, there are still jobs such as refereeing, examining that I am obliged to do for little reward when I could be on hobbies.' (David, 64yrs)

'Since I have more choice about what I do, my academic work is more satisfying.' (Richard, 62yrs)

For some individuals, to be free from the constraints of academic life was a relief. Some were relieved to leave the bureaucracy of university work; others felt free from the pressure of producing work, the attitude of students, university politics and from disagreements with senior management.

'Having been subject to endless and dull committee work, and the need to toe the PC line on a range of issues, it is a pleasure to escape from the often stifling and narrow confines of much of current University work and to work in the real world - and at other Universities with much more interesting students and staff than at mine!' (Phil, 63yrs)

'Today I am busy all the time but avoid stress and departmental politics. Incomparably better situation after a period of bereavement. Before retirement I woke up thinking "O God its morning" Today I wake up and say "Good morning God." [Emphasis from the respondent]' (William, 63yrs)

Freedom, choice and control emerged as the main elements of a less stressful existence and an overall feeling of a better quality of life. One respondent points however, that the freedom acquired in retirement might come with limitations.

'[Before retirement] I did have some freedom to control my professional life. I now have more, but, paradoxically, with a more constrained set of choices within which to exercise that freedom.' (James, 63yrs)

The most marked statements for negative attitudes are consistent with the discontinuities mentioned previously; 28% (n=14) of respondents marked missing the contact with students, 10% (n=5) pointed out that the institutional support that they previously received from the university to do academic work was missed. As highlighted in the section on continuity, academics felt that after retirement and without institutional support, the access to academic resources was a challenge and a major discontinuity.

Only 2% (n=1) of the respondents found it difficult to find themselves a new routine in retirement, which may be connected to the high number of individuals still engaged in academic activities. However, some retirees admitted that in different ways they felt less valued for having been moved to a lower grade (part-time) position or for not being formally acknowledged for their expertise. One respondent felt that although he was still useful to his former university from time to time, he was generally 'out of the loop'.

Among the comments, from respondents a number of other attitudes in relation to retirement emerged; a few respondents expressed that the talents of retired academics are wasted and they could be better used by universities.

'I am sure that the recently retired are a huge resource which is poorly used.'
(Adam, 63yrs)

'I feel guilty that my intellectual gifts and talents are no longer being used to improve the quality of education.' (Jonathan, 64yrs)

'I take the view that staff with my level of experience are a valuable asset and the academic world needs to make sure it uses this asset effectively.' (Jeremy, 63yrs)

Table 7.15 Contentment as consequence of retiring (UK)

Contentment as consequence of retiring – UK	Frequency of responses
More content in retirement than before retirement	52% (n=26)
Neither more nor less content retirement	38% (n=19)
Cannot answer	6% (n=3)
Less content following retirement	4% (n=2)

When asked about 'contentment as a consequence of retiring, 90% (n=45) were either more content than or equally as content as before retirement, 52% (n=26) and 38% (n=19) respectively. This reflects that life satisfaction levels are generally high in retirement for this group. These findings, summarised in Table 7.15 above, were consistent with findings from Tizard and Owen (2001). In their study a majority of the respondents, 61%, felt more content as a consequence of retirement and 29% responded that retirement made no difference to their level of contentment. 'Less content' and 'cannot answer' options produced the same percentages as Tizard and Owen's study.

Even though work is not central to many of the respondents, it seems to be an important aspect of life for many. Having the opportunity and choice to work at their own pace was appreciated by most.

From all the comments included by respondents, the clearest theme to emerge was on the quality of life in retirement. Respondents largely found life after retirement more

satisfying and equally fulfilling. It was pointed out that the quality of life improved considerably after retirement, especially after the transitional period.

'Retirement has been one of my most fulfilling periods of life. (...) Once the transition from full-time working to retirement has been made, quality of life improves.' (Peter, 67yrs)

'I hope that nevertheless you will pick up some of the excitement and fulfilment I have found in retirement even though I still work a 60 hour week.' (Phil, 63yrs)

'It is much more enjoyable being, in effect, a part-time academic, because I have been able to have a more balanced life.' (Duncan, 68yrs)

Discussion

The views towards retirement are usually positive in both countries; Brazilian and UK academics had similar attitudes towards retirement. Among the positive statements, being happy with the possibility of still working in their area of knowledge or expertise in retirement was the option indicated by a majority of Brazilian (72%) and UK (86%) academics. This was followed by having the freedom to arrange their time as they liked, 70% Brazilians and 82% UK. Having more time for their own research interests was also chosen by the respondents from both countries; having more time for family was more often chosen by Brazilian respondents. Twice as many UK academics rather than Brazilian indicated the appreciation of having more time for other activities and interests in retirement, and more UK respondents saw retirement as a period of new opportunities.

Among the negative attitudes regarding retirement, a large minority of Brazilian and UK missed the contact with students. A minority missed the social contact with other members of staff. A small minority of Brazilians, 10%, missed the status of being

employed by a university (only 2% in the UK), and a small minority of UK academics, 10%, missed the institutional support received from the university to do academic work (only 6% in Brazil).

Generally, comments on life following retirement were similar for Brazilian and UK respondents. Many voiced that life in retirement is more satisfying and equally fulfilling than life before retirement: Brazilian and UK academics outline similar reasons for this sense of satisfaction in retirement. Retirement brings a considerable reduction of stress by allowing individuals to have more time and autonomy over their activities and choices. Respondents explained the basic elements that make life in retirement more balanced and satisfying. In retirement many reported having more control over personal and professional interests as well as more freedom to choose the activities they would wish to be involved in. The pressures for performing and meeting strict deadlines diminish, allowing the academic work to be developed at a gentler pace. Finally, as retired academics do not need to engage in less preferred activities, such as administration, politics, etc, this also adds to the feeling of satisfaction. When asked about how content they were following retirement, a majority of respondents from both samples indicated that they were more content following retirement than before retirement. In both countries 90% of respondents indicated being more content or being equally content in retirement, as before retirement.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter the responses to the on-line questionnaire were presented for both the Brazilian and UK samples. The responses were presented under three main sections: reasons to retire, continuities and discontinuities in the transition to retirement, and attitudes towards retirement.

The profile of the samples was also explored in this chapter. It was noted that there is no pattern of retirement age among the respondents; their retirement ages ranged from their late forties to their seventies. In Brazil the age range is wider than in the UK. The majority of the respondents in this study were of the highest ranks of academia at the time of retirement.

Reasons to retire were the next issues explored in this chapter. Retirement was largely related to age, however, apart from the respondents retired compulsorily, it was apparent that there was no one reason to retire. Other factors influenced the decision to retire for a majority both in Brazil and in the UK. The other factors mentioned by respondents include: the desire to engage in different activities or to use their time in a different way, organisational incentives or pressure to retire, stress, illness and, for a small minority, dissatisfactions with the work situation.

The continuity and discontinuity section of this chapter explored the changes respondents experienced since retirement. Brazilian and UK academics experienced a high level of continuity of academic activities after retirement. A majority had been re-employed after retirement whether part-time or full-time. Individuals engaged in a number of academic activities, not being restricted to one or other academic role. Many respondents also continued to be engaged with their previous career as a volunteer, i.e. doing unpaid research or teaching, or informally, i.e. reading books or keeping in touch with former colleagues. Discontinuities were also explored by respondents, although while some were seen as desirable others were seen as a loss. Overall, respondents' lifestyles remained unchanged.

Attitudes towards retirement were largely positive. A majority of respondents were happy that they could continue with academic activities in retirement, and at the same time have more freedom to choose their commitments and allocate their time. Negative attitudes were expressed by a minority only. On the whole, academics

expressed contentment with the retirement situation. In the next chapter the findings from the interviews for Brazilian and UK academics will be reviewed.

CHAPTER EIGHT - The experience of retirement in the context of the life course

INTRODUCTION

INTERVIEWS WITH BRAZILIAN ACADEMICS

INTERVIEWS WITH UK ACADEMICS

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the findings from the on-line survey questionnaire were presented and the reasons for retirement, continuity and discontinuity in the transition to retirement and attitudes towards retirement explored. The aim of this study is to investigate the transition to retirement for academics in the context of the environment from which Brazilian and English academics draw their identities. The focus of the study lies in exploring the continuities and discontinuities of identity and lifestyle and a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis was adopted for this study. This chapter will present the findings from the in-depth interviews with retired academics from Brazil and the UK. In total, twenty retired academics were interviewed, ten in the UK and ten in Brazil; their demographics are described in each corresponding section.

During the interviews, participants were asked to explore their whole careers, from when they first started until and after the period following retirement. Exploring individuals' biographies was undertaken to better understand how their careers unfolded and the place of retirement within this context. Many participants were able to identify key moments from different stages in their careers that might, directly or indirectly, have had an impact on their retirement decisions and outcomes. Attitudes towards choices made during working life, career, academic environment and life in retirement were also explored over the course of the interviews. The attitudes and stories were unique to each participant, however some patterns emerged. This chapter aims to capture all these experiences in a meaningful way.

UK and Brazilian interviews were analysed separately and the themes generated were similar but not identical. The themes explored in this chapter are grouped into three main areas: academic career, decision to retire and life in retirement.

INTERVIEWS WITH BRAZILIAN ACADEMICS

In this section, the findings from the Brazilian interview stage are presented. Themes relating to academic career, reasons for retirement, transition and adjustment to retirement, attitudes towards retirement and life satisfaction in retirement are explored.

From the ten retired academics interviewed in Brazil, five retired from public sector universities, three were retired from private sector universities and two retired from public but continued employment in a private university. Individuals were from seven different disciplines - philosophy, engineering, physics, mathematics, education, Brazilian literature and law. The participants' ages ranged from 56 to 76 years old and their time in retirement was between one to five years and seven months (approximately). All academics interviewed were married, with the exception of one who was divorced. From the sample, eight academics held professorships (called 'full professors' in Brazil) and two were adjunct professors (equivalent to senior lecturers).

Exploring the routes that individuals interviewed took to start in academic life, it was clear that some started straight after graduating at the university. Others moved from school teaching or from industry into academia – the latter usually taking a reduction in salary:

'At the time the university lecturer's activity was not very attractive and the ones [lecturers] here, were looking for better jobs. I am already talking about 1969, just before the Brazilian economic miracle, the salaries were very high in the industry and at the university the salaries were fairly low. So, the lecturers here were looking for jobs, or at least a better opportunity. So, I was doing the other way around. I was in a company but not happy and I wanted to become an academic and was very welcomed here. I had some disagreements at work and a semester later I was here, doing a master degree [to be employed as a lecturer just after].' (Alberto, 67yrs)

'I was a civil servant and I left a great public sector job to be a badly paid private tutor. I don't regret it, thank god, I've always been respected by the students, I've never had any problems with them. I like to teach and I always had a reasonable life, and in academia I've only done what I wanted. This way I don't have anything to regret.' (Cesar, 76yrs)

While some devoted themselves exclusively to academia and their institution, others took employment in other institutions or had employment in industry, government or private practice in addition to their academic occupation. Some interviewees experienced a fairly stable career during which their work routine did not differ much throughout the years. Others received promotions into university management positions, steering their careers into a different direction:

'I went a step up in the professional ladder, (...) with the habilitation [a Brazilian degree between master and doctorate] I became adjunct professor. That is the category closer to full professor (...) for one of these reasons in life, it was not on my plans, it was not in my category, I didn't want an administrative position, (...) I was the deputy vice chancellor of the university from 84 to 88 and the vice chancellor from 88 to 92. This means that in this period I was in an administration post at the university for the first time. After these 4 years finished, I got back to the classroom' (Lucio, 73yrs)

'I was so involved in the university's administration, I have been the maths' department director for eight years, and have played other, different roles, in a way. I didn't devote myself to research mathematics; I looked for other things...' (Roberto, 70yrs)

Interviewees with more than one employment reported that they kept their academic careers stable while experiencing changes in their other occupations. One interviewee experienced a major change in his parallel occupation as a politician, which led him to

interrupt his employment with his university for many years, however he continued to lecture:

'And for circumstances that are not relevant for this interview, I ended up having a political life. (...)I took some time off the university in [19]71 when I was elected federal MP and had to move to Brasilia [Brazil's capital]. (...)I have been teaching at the university since [19]60, initially as an assistant, until [19]71. Then I took a leave and came back in [19]93, when I retired from government, to teach at the masters and doctorates courses. I finally retired at 2002. While in Brasilia I lectured as well, but in a different institution.' (Mauro, 75yrs)

Workload during their academic years was not an issue for most of interviewees. However, the ones who had to manage more than one employment tended to have a heavy work routine, which was sometimes detrimental to other areas of life:

'Without any loss of dedication to my work here, (...) I coped with the work in these three places... well, the traffic was not as it is today. So, it was easy to move from one place to the other. Obviously there was a personal loss from all this. Instead of spending my evenings, I don't know, going to the cinema, playing tennis, etc, I was lecturing/teaching. This was a great personal loss...' (Alberto, 67yrs)

'At the university, very few published, because there was the day-to-day, that routine of coping with the students. (...). I had times in my life that I had 6 jobs. I used to teach in the mornings, afternoons and evenings, all the time. Only teaching, only teaching, I didn't do anything else.' (Aurelio, 69yrs)

'I would keep juggling, teaching time in the mornings, practicing time as a lawyer for company X, what I was for many years, there was a set time to start, to leave, after lunch would go to the office, where I would stay until 7pm,

after that I would go straight to the university to teach. There was a time that I used to teach in more than one university, that was complicated as well. I had to reconcile the working hours, and the time that was left was really family time. This kind of difficult life for professors was quite common at my time, later that academics were employed as full-time. (...) To be honest that was what used to support the family, because teaching didn't pay enough, it was ridiculous, didn't even pay the petrol that we used to go teaching... well, maybe one of the deficiencies of this period was exactly this. For you to study, in between so many activities and demands, was a huge effort. I used to study on weekends, locked myself in a room and would study, would prepare the classes, would make the lecturing plan, would read... would research.' (Mauro, 75yrs)

The significance of being an academic and its influence on individuals' lives and sense of self was a theme which emerged in many interviews. Some interviewees had a special connection to the institution where they had worked. Others felt that their discipline was particularly meaningful to their lives and shaped much of their identity. A few felt that their personal history and the history of the institution were mixed to the extent that they could not be differentiated. One interviewee expressed his gratitude to the university he retired from:

'I worked from 1966, that was the year I started at the university as professor, support teacher, in that level, let's say the first one. And I finished in 2003 as a full professor. It was, I mean, I say this that I owe a lot, nearly everything, immensely to the university, that outside the institution, without the encouragement, without the instigation from the students and from the courses I wouldn't be what I am today. I wouldn't have done, nor would have the knowledge, nor the experience, nor the published work, if it wasn't for the university. The best thing for me was the university or I wouldn't do these intellectual things that I like so much.' (Lucio, 73yrs)

Passion about work, whether related to the discipline, the role of lecturer or researcher and its impact on the students or wider society, was expressed by all of the interviewees. This gives an indication that there is an intrinsic motivation to an academic profession, which interviewees claim is lower paid when comparing to a careers in industry. One interviewee summarises:

'Well, so what is the satisfaction you get? It is to be useful, it is the psychological salary. I had an old colleague that used to refer a lot to this point. I mean, teaching is addictive.... and gives you a salary, the psychological salary, maybe medicine and other similar professions give this as well. I mean [with tears in his eyes], sorry I am a bit emotional, in a sense that you are useful, of other people recognising you are useful, you are helping, collaborating. I lived this life project to the full' (Mauricio, 71yrs)

Academic life, however, did not come without frustrations to the group interviewed. For most, the frustrations with work were only minor annoyances. For one interviewee, who devoted most of his working life to the institution, frustrations with the senior management triggered the decision to retire.

'[In the years prior to retirement] I use to work for the state's government and here. [To take the position] There I was obliged to work 40 hours and I couldn't here because it is against the law. [To hold two 40 hours positions]. I could only have 20 hours here. I was hoping that when I left the position there I would have back my 40 hours job. This didn't happen. So, I retired from the university with half of what I should get, because I've always given the university 40 hours or more. But the vice chancellor at the time, that claims to be my friend, when signing the papers, signed for 20 hours. And still today I am with 20 hours. (...) this was the fact that made me ask for retirement. I was so annoyed with administration of the university that I requested my retirement. I could have stayed for longer.' (Aurelio, 69yrs)

Decision to retire and financial arrangements

In the survey individuals indicated different reasons to retire. On many occasions, a combination of reasons came together to influence the individual's decision. During the interviews, the reasons that led to the decision to retire seemed to be more specifically linked to one factor, in some cases other reasons were used to validate the main factor. Generally, reasons for retirement would be attached to the idea of the retirement age, the minimum age to draw pension for some or the compulsory retirement age for others. Among the academics interviewed, some were pleased and others less so with the conditions of retirement. Distinctions in retirement patterns between public and private universities were also identified.

Reaching the compulsory retirement age was a common reason to retire for most of the interviewees, with the exception of two respondents. Some individuals would have worked for longer if they could have as they took great pleasure in the work routine experienced at the time of retirement:

'I retired because I had to retire, this is compulsory, if it was dependent on my will I wouldn't. I would have carried on lecturing. Moreover with my work situation in the final years, let's say in final 10 years when I was a professor at the university, I was in the most fantastic position.' (Lucio, 73yrs)

Others individuals willing to continue academic work managed to re-engage in activities with former universities or contacts:

'When I reached the age of 70 I had to retire, that is the university rule – but they took me on board as a consultant after that.' (Roberto, 70yrs)

While for some compulsory retirement was a barrier for continuity, for others it was an opportunity to live a more flexible lifestyle. The prospect of retirement came at a good time for individuals who no longer felt fit to cope with the demands of teaching and daily commuting:

'But it happens that two years prior to that I underwent a very difficult lung cancer operation and I was tired, so the university retirement at that point was welcomed. Because although the classes for me were... were really a great joy, a great pleasure... physically I used to feel much drained, then I decided not to accept the invitation to continue lecturing [after retirement].' (Mauro, 75yrs)

'I retired at the compulsory age; otherwise I would have carried on. In my 70s, I would have carried on but I think I wouldn't have coped, unless it was only once a week. (...)So, I think it was better to retire really, when the compulsory age came...' (Alvaro, 75yrs)

It emerged among the interviewees from the private universities that working up to the compulsory age of retirement was also a financial necessity. The participants belonged to an age group that started their contracts when the state pension was relatively generous. This group was faced with a severe cut in benefits. Even though the university tried to arrange a private pension to balance the difference, they had not contributed for a sufficient length of time to accumulate the same level of pension. Individuals working exclusively for private universities commented that work up to compulsory retirement age and beyond was necessary to avoid a significant reduction in income:

'The people from my time, that were not able to contribute for as many years [to the university's private pension scheme], will have a considerably lower income in retirement. So to support their standard of living, which is not luxurious, but a standard of living enough for living reasonably well, and all this, then you have to look for something else to do, others institutions, look for something else to do. Otherwise, it will be a struggle; it is going to be a struggle.' (Roberto, 70yrs)

One interviewee commented that his arrangements for retirement were done in advance to minimise the impact of the income loss. Another interviewee discussed the

impact of the reduced income and the necessary adjustments done to be able to manage.

'Now, I am suffering a significant salary loss, and it got made worse due to my wife's situation changing from comfortable to not so comfortable. So, for the first time I am facing this situation. This means eventually to be less generous, this means to be much more economical, to cut a number of expenses. Not buying a lot of books or going out for meals, to adopt to a much more frugal lifestyle. It won't have trips to Europe; we won't be able to visit to Belgium, or Stanford. This is over. And now, from the, let's say, financial point of view, this is not so dramatic. It is much more a fear that I am feeling at the moment that I don't know how it is going to be. For the first time I am experiencing this reality. The financial cost which the retirement represented for the equilibrium, balance of the family's budget.' (Mauricio, 71yrs)

Public universities allow better pensions for their retired staff as they are under the civil servants' pension scheme. From the early 2000s pension reform for civil servants proposed a less generous retirement package, leading to many civil servants, academic staff included, to file for retirement before new rules were implemented. The youngest retiree from the sample said that his decision to retire was simply not to lose his pension and benefits. The fact that he wanted to continue working and felt fit to work was independent of the decision to retire.

'Retirement was an absolutely pragmatic decision; there was not much suffering or moaning about it. (...) My only worry was what to do next, but you see there was a risk of losing out on my pension if I hadn't retired then. So, I did. I took the retirement route...' (Henrique, 56yrs)

Not surprisingly, it emerged that individuals with various jobs or occupations were able to accumulate more benefits. These individuals had more comfortable retirement

prospects; however as highlighted in an earlier section, it was commented that there was a personal cost attached to overworking.

The retirement journey

There is no formalised phased retirement in Brazil. For most universities retirement is formally the end of the working life. Some universities allow former academic staff to contribute voluntarily on a short term contract basis; others have created an Emeritus Professor position which retired staff can occupy for a further two years with a lighter work load following retirement. These formal opportunities however are an exception. Nonetheless it can be said that all interviewees managed to gradually reduce activities either before or after retirement.

Among the strategies used by the interviewees to wind down before retirement was reducing the hours spent lecturing. There is no indication that this was a formal agreement or plan from the university, possibly this was an informal arrangement to slowly replace that member of staff. Individuals with a number of jobs tended to retire from each job - one at the time - creating a feeling that the retirement was being phased in. One individual described using both strategies to winding down.

'But I reduced the hours slowly. I first left X University and stayed only at Y University, then started to reduce progressively. At a point that I didn't feel any difference, the only difference that I felt is that I wasn't obliged... to look at the watch, [and think] I have got a class, I can't be late.' (Alvaro, 75yrs)

Strategies of winding down after retirement were less common. Some interviewees managed to keep their research students until their research was completed but among this group there was no other volunteer work reported. One interviewee was awarded an emeritus professor position.

'... 6 months [after retirement] I can apply for a further 2 years as an Emeritus professor. So, I thought, I won't apply, all I don't want is this bureaucracy. But the head of department encouraged me: - you created the post-graduation; you cannot just leave like this. But I also didn't want to be embarrassed by the academic career committee by having them saying I didn't have a level of productivity to be awarded a title of Emeritus professor, because it is the title that you receive. So he said, this won't happen, this is not possible, you published books, you have articles, you've done research, everyone knows that you... so, well, I am not really bothered about the emeritus title. So, I retired and in February I received the title and I can stay for further 2 years, working.'
(Mauricio, 71yrs)

Even though the formal phasing out of academic activities after retirement was unusual among interviewees, to experience a certain level of professional continuity following retirement was common. Professional continuity after retirement ranged from full-time work to informal advising activities. From the interviews it can be said that different variables may impact on the amount or type of continuity exercised. These variables include: health and an overall feeling of fitness, previous positions and contacts, institutional opportunities and being able to look for different paths. The latter emerged mainly from individuals who juggled different careers and jobs during their working lives. Individuals who had various occupations seemed to have more flexibility to find things to do – always in their own areas of expertise, such as law, course management, teaching, consulting:

'I stopped teaching and kept only my activities as a lawyer, this is my legal professional-practice. My activities as a lawyer today are almost exclusively legal opinions...' (Mauro, 75yrs)

The same can be said to be true for individuals who had international publishing contacts or prestigious positions at their former universities:

'They [his children] understand a lot about IT, which I find very interesting. This makes communication possible with people outside Brazil, to send articles and receive articles, to keep in touch with a Spanish magazine, Italian, French. Every month I send articles there, I receive articles here, in a way, I have a very intense intellectual life.' (Alvaro, 75yrs)

Two interviewees felt that the options for continuity within their disciplines were limited, due to the technical nature of their subject. One of them explained how he felt about continuity in academic related activities:

'To be a lecturer is complicated. (...) if I stay 15 hours per week standing and talking, talking, there is a moment you don't have more... I am not fit for that anymore. Your voice gets worn out, I get tired. Writing books... So, I go do something more intellectual, but this is also a complicated decision – you are going to write about what in the technical area? How many people are interested?' (Frederico, 67yrs)

Health status and an overall feeling of well-being also emerged as playing an important role in the desire for continuity. Individuals feeling fit and in good health felt more inclined to look for activities that would fill the void left from leaving employment:

'I believe my scientific skills are increasing, from my graduation years up to now. Probably there will be an age-related decline; I don't feel I've been affected by this process yet. On the contrary, I feel more confident in the things I say, I write, I read... I evaluate. This experience has been improving. I don't feel the opposite. Sure this will happen, I don't know at what age, but for the moment I feel absolutely fit, let's say (...) As long as I have the energy and health, I don't know up to what age. (...) I believe I will have a decent life. I don't intend to be at home continuously, but do something linked to university teaching or consultancy, something around this.' (Alberto, 67yrs)

Informal activities and passive involvement, like reading academic articles or simply keeping in touch with peers, was preferred by individuals who did not feel as fit as before.

'I didn't have any shock [as a consequence of retiring] There are certain people who don't know what to do next. I was the opposite. I had to resist certain invitations to take part in groups and activities [formally].' (Alvaro, 75yrs)

Some individuals referred to their academic careers and the involvement in their subjects as a vocation rather than simply a job. The desire to continue to be involved in retirement, in any possible way, is connected to their sense of commitment to their discipline, research areas or institution. To a certain extent, the desire to be involved in academic-related work can be said to be a part of their identity.

'I left retired and since then I am involved at the association of retired staff and also at the association of full professors. What does this mean? This means the following... when you are committed to the university, when you develop that relationship with the university, you don't want to leave. I don't want to leave and feel committed to stay even at my 69 years of age. When I get to my 70s I will really stop all these other activities [related to the associations] and concentrate in didactic-pedagogic activities. I will be writing and working in other things and not to be stuck in an association of retired staff or association of full professors, which I find very tiring, very difficult to stand.' (Aurelio, 69yrs)

'In theory I could work for as little as four hours a week, I work 40. Including weekends and earning virtually nothing. But, this doesn't matter, it is the addiction, is the psychological salary, it is a childhood dream that I've been nurturing, maybe an alter ego, I don't know how do you say this in psychoanalysis. I think sometimes, I had so many advantages and positive aspects throughout my life, why not to share this...' (Mauricio, 71yrs)

The meaning of retirement

The meaning of retirement for the interviewees seemed to be linked to their circumstances at the time of the interview: engagement in academic activities, health status, financial stability and the stage of the retirement process. Individuals who were settled in a retirement routine expressed an overall contentment with retirement. This feeling of contentment may be connected to the acceptance of their current status, and the presence of a new day-to-day routine:

'I organise my own time, I have this habit, it doesn't change, I get up early. I am around here and etc ... and I also go to bed early: 10.30, 10 o'clock, 11' clock, I am already in bed. The next day 6am. This morning I got up at 5am - I read, I go out, whatever I want, when I want, for the length of time I want... When I am writing an article and I am in that stage that the text is flowing, going, and changing and making the adaptations and corrections, this can take my whole day, I stay there, they call me for lunch or I even forget, time doesn't exist for me. So that's how it is.' (Lucio, 73yrs)

Individuals still in their current 'bridge' jobs tended to express concerns about the future and what would they do to fill the void once these contracts are over. All these individuals felt fit and had the desire to continue to be engaged in academic activities or activities related to their skills and discipline. For one interviewee who took early retirement, the prospect of ceasing working was so distant that he felt as if nothing had changed apart from having a new job in a new institution:

'I have been preparing myself for a while but I still haven't managed to feel ready [for retirement]. I need to know exactly what I am going to do. (...)I am not afraid of the idea of retiring; it is the transition that worries me.' (Frederico, 67yrs)

Generally, interviewees managed to keep the parts of their identities that are important in retirement either by being engaged in formal activities or simply by reading books and keeping in touch with former students and colleagues:

'So, now I spend the day like this, watching things, watching TV, distracting myself. I always visit the university. Prof P runs the association now. I ran it for nearly 5 years. 2 years ago in July I said to P I would quit, and I was recommending him. We worked together for some time and now I finally left the administration. But I still go; I never really left the university. I've got many friends there, 40 years there; my ex-students are in the administration of the university. So we have a lot to talk about.' (Cesar, 76yrs)

Frequently, interviewees referred to retirement as a moment of liberation where they achieve greater freedom. This freedom was a great source of satisfaction for all interviewees. Some appreciated not having to commute to work every day, especially considering the increased urban violence in Brazil. Others felt free from being controlled by their watches. Interviewees commented that not having the need to be part of university politics was a satisfying feeling. One interviewee expressed his views on the current publishing-focused system he was happy to leave behind. He described the pleasure of being engaged in activities he thinks are worthwhile rather than those praised by the system:

'So, I thought, I can be much more useful to the society by retiring from the university to be able to devote myself full-time to these social-communitarian projects related to adult education, close to community courses preparatory for university admission exams. (...) I am a very happy man because for the first time in my life within 45years in the university, I am being able to do exactly what I want to do. I am being able to do what I have to do without the concern of reporting to the governmental agencies, who would evaluate if my work is relevant or if I am publishing in English or French or God knows what. It is

funny, now that I don't want anything to do with this, there was a book, I published a book, there were two recent articles in magazines, scientific publications [chuckles], and this research is getting the funding approved, which is a bit ironic. I leave the system as form of protest and now I am getting the benefits from that which I declined. What can I do? These are the contradictions of life.' (Mauricio, 71yrs)

Another interviewee commented on the fact he does not read specialised publications from back to back anymore, but only what interests him. He stated that leaving the world of work is a relief, not having to compete with peers or to project a specific image. The greatest satisfaction in retirement for him is to be able to be himself:

'Today I read in a very curious manner. I read looking for the articles that interest me, I don't feel obliged to read from the first to the last page. (...) So, I would say this is a condition of non-obligation, I don't need to prove anything, I don't need to prove that I know. I know and that is enough for me. When you are young, you have the need of assertion; you are actually led to do this. The professional relationships are very competitive so you are either assertive or end up being left out. So, I definitely don't have this need. I don't need to look as I am, to assert, I just need to be and that is fundamental.' (Mauro, 75yrs)

INTERVIEWS WITH UK ACADEMICS

The findings from the UK interview stage are presented in this section. Themes on academic career, the decision to retire and life in retirement, continuity and attitudes towards retirement are explored.

From the group of retired academics interviewed in the UK, six retired from pre-1992 and four from post-1992 universities. They represented individuals from nine different disciplines – history, management, physics, linguistics, French, building surveying,

biochemistry, engineering and finance. The participants' ages ranged from 62 to 70 years old and their time in retirement between one to five years and nine months (approximately). All academics interviewed were married, with the exception of one who was widowed. From the sample, six academics were professors and four were senior lecturers at the time of retirement.

For all of the interviewees, academia was the main occupation after they started their academic jobs. However from the interviews it was clear that their routes into academia were different. Some always knew they wanted to teach, in school or academia. One interviewee, who moved from school teaching to university, explains his reasons:

'So I was very happy as a school teacher but I was keen on research, and I was doing a bit of research, had some publications already, and it was very hard to combine school teaching and research, you just didn't have the time or energy. So the mid-60s, if you were going to switch, that was a good time to switch. And so I switched to university [teaching].' (Alan, 64yrs)

Other interviewees moved from industry to academia. Some, on their own initiative, as the prospect of working in higher education seemed attractive. Others were recruited to take an academic job. One interviewee revealed that he never thought about academic career until he had to leave the civil service, and he discovered a career he truly enjoyed.

'I came for the interview without any intention of taking the job, (...) But I got the job and it was as quick as that change from having nothing to do with teaching to being straight in, so no teacher training (...) It was quite a big change, but I did do it, I've enjoyed it ever since.' (Robert, 62yrs)

Interviewees said that they had experienced a fairly stable career progression. Once in the university system, forces internal or external to the individuals steered their

careers into a blend of teaching, research and university management. Most interviewees had had some involvement in administration as part of their careers. Some had a few administrative functions, while others were involved in university management as head of department, associate dean or dean. One individual was a vice-chancellor for the final years preceding retirement. Their professional identities were based in this blend of activities:

'I have been a successful teacher and much appreciated by students and staff, and a reasonable administrator at a low level. I could never have been Head of Department, for example, I just don't have the vision which people need for that, and I didn't want to be anyway.' (Daren, 68yrs)

'I became head of [department], and then Dean until retirement. So... The workload for all academics is quite high; if you're a head, all the normal workload has added on to it all the workload from dealing with the centre of the university. So, yes it's quite a busy life, but I still taught and still did research, whatever the administrative load was.' (Ron, 70yrs)

From the academics interviewed, two felt that their research activities were compromised as a consequence of a very intense involvement in university management:

'So, in '84 I come here, end up as a professor, but end up as an associate dean. And I was responsible eventually for all executive education and all postgraduate programmes as well as teaching, which meant, in a sense, towards the end my research just disappeared because I was too busy doing all of that.' (Daniel, 67yrs)

'I said to you earlier, I wasn't a full-time academic, nevertheless I was a professor, I'd been a professor in three universities (...) I kept writing new, edited some, my book was re-issued; did some work; reviewed a lot, but again

it was very difficult to do full-time research while you're running a university, I mean, you do a bit, keep your hand in.' (Alan, 64yrs)

In addition to university employment, some interviewees had other occupations. Two reported being actively involved in business consultancy throughout their careers. One individual had been a magistrate for fifteen years while working full-time in academia, but due to stress related health concerns he had to take a break from justice. Another interviewee was a politician while holding university employment.

'I was a politician for 12 years, an elected politician for 12 years, and that diversity brought different ways of thinking into my life. So chugging along as a [discipline] at the University [name removed] and with the blessing of the university being able to do some politics on the side, and was really rewarding.'
(Jack, 66yrs)

Among the interviewees it was evident that there was satisfaction with the choice of being an academic. Some felt much attached to the institutions they worked for and to some extent grateful. There was a common view that being an academic is a privilege, as they are paid to pursue own interests.

'I consider that I'm very lucky that most of my career, other than the period I was an inspector, I've been able to pursue what I would do for interest anyway and get paid for it.' (Alan, 64yrs)

'I think I've actually been very fortunate in actually being able to carve out a career for myself which I think has fitted my abilities and I've enjoyed doing.'
(Mathew, 62yrs)

'I'd never felt at any time that I was in a job that I didn't like. I like to think if I did, I would probably move. But you do find other people telling you how terrible it is, and they've got this problem and that problem, and you listen and it's not a problem really [chuckles].' (Ron, 70yrs)

One interviewee expressed his disappointment with the changes in academic life. This contributed to his desire to leave academia.

'So the job wasn't what it was. I wasn't enjoying it. I just drew a line under it, and that was very strange because for many years I'd thought and said that a university lecturer wasn't something I did. It was what I was.' (Gary, 64yrs)

One interviewee, on the contrary, defended the academic occupation. He believes that as in any other occupation there are tasks that are not pleasurable.

'Although I think that academic life is on the whole pretty congenial, and by the nature of academics, they moan and complain a lot because they're critical people, so they complain and they're critical about the work they do and they therefore become critical of the world at large. A large number of them don't realise what good jobs they've had, 30 weeks a year, a modest salary, and they don't have to get up and hustle and hassle, commute to Dubai [like his son is doing now] or worry about being sacked. You've got to be a kind of rapist to get sacked in the academic life. It's almost impossible. I know a number of people who should have been, but they never were. It's a decent life, a good life, with certain kinds of drawbacks. The things you miss are things on the edges really. There are a number of minor inconveniences like committee work, paperwork. But most people have aspects of their job that they can do without.' (Joseph, 66yrs)

Decision and timing of retirement

Both the quantitative and the qualitative sections of the survey highlighted that there were many reasons to retire. Usually the retirement decision will be triggered by a number of factors coming together. The interviews gave an opportunity to discuss in depth the variables that influenced the decision to retire. In this section, common

variables which determine the time of retirement are explored, some of these encouraged earlier or later retirement for the individuals interviewed. The principal reasons to retire given in the interviews differed from those in the survey for reasons explored further below.

In the survey, the retirement age was the most common reason for retirement. The same reason emerged from the interviews; however, retirement age was usually connected to the time at which one was entitled to full pension. Having the possibility to draw a full pension was often the first thought to trigger the retirement route. Even though the set of circumstances prior to the decision differed among the interviewees, ensuring pension arrangements were in place prior to considering retirement was mentioned by all of them. Most often, the pension entitlement coincided with other plans. For one interviewee, regardless of his desire to retire with his wife, retirement could only come once enough pension was accumulated. The retirement timing turned out to be the right time:

'I had to keep on working for the money side of it but didn't want to retire until I did; and I think I retired more or less, or semi retired rather more or less at the right time for me.' (Robin, 62yrs)

One interviewee, who had an opportunity for early retirement, only agreed to retire when the university agreed to give him the pension enhancement needed to draw the full benefit:

'[After department decided to downsize] Another memo came around offering up to two years' pension enhancement for people to take early retirement. I phoned the personnel office and said, please can I have some more? (...) And I applied, and I got five years.' (Gary, 64yrs)

All other interviewees also associated the decision to retire with having sufficient pension accumulated. Whether they retired to set up their own business, to fulfil other

plans or due to stress or dissatisfaction, having sufficient pension was always a contributing factor to the decision and timing of retirement.

Two individuals expressed the view that the timing of their retirement was defined by the rules of the Teachers' Pension Scheme. Although they were happy to continue working full-time until later, the advantages of taking early retirement made that option more attractive. One interviewee explains:

'I actually retired at aged 59 years and 11 months. What that allows you to do is to draw your pension but also to continue working, otherwise I think the rule is that if you retire after 60 you're allowed to continue working for a university, but you're not allowed to earn any more than your last salary. Whereas if you actually take this actuarially reduced benefit you're allowed to earn however much you like and draw your pension.' (Mathew, 62yrs)

'...if you're like me and you've got a lot of service in, 'cause all the civil service counted as well, nearly 40 years of pension, your half pay is pension, I work 60% working three days a week, that's near enough 110% of the salary I was getting before. You can't do that if you're 60 like I say, that's one opportunity, so that's what I did, I checked it out and retired a month before I got to 60 and got re-employed three days a week.' (Robert, 62yrs)

This was the trigger to the idea of retirement for these interviewees. Both had the option of continuing working at their universities after retirement, if they wished. It offered them a combination of financial advantage and the opportunity to work with a reduced load.

Some interviewees said that they thought that they would retire at a certain planned age, for some at a contractual retirement age and for others at an age when they would be entitled to a full pension. However this did not necessarily coincide with their university's plans. Three interviewees reported being requested to remain working for

longer. One interviewee stayed so that the new management of the university would benefit from his experience in the job.

'Deans, at that time here, served for three years, and then you went back to your academic activity (...). In my case, I'd reached retirement, so I retired, or was going to retire at the end of three years, but it coincided with the change of Vice Chancellor, and the new Vice Chancellor didn't want too many senior people changing, (...) So, I was asked to stay on as Dean, which I did for almost another two years.' (Ron, 70yrs)

Another interviewee, with a very strong international publishing record, was asked to stay on for longer to support his university during the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE).

'I was going to retire when I was 65, and they asked me to stay on an extra year and a month. And they asked me that because the papers that I had published are in very prestigious journals and they are doing something called the RAE (...) they want to show that you are an internationally acclaimed scientist.' (Daren, 68yrs)

One interviewee refused to continue in his job, even though his university tried to persuade him to stay on in the job for another eighteen months. He explains that:

'[among other reasons] I always had in my mind you need to go when you feel you've achieved something and before people feel you're just marking time (...). I've seen other vice chancellors who have stayed that year or two too long and they've been very good and then it'd start to decline and things went wrong, so that was in my mind.' (Alan, 64yrs)

In the interviews it was expressed, either directly or indirectly, that family reasons were also a contributor to the decision to retire. Some referred to the desire to retire

at the same time as the partner or wife; others referred to the pressure to attend to family needs and to finally put their partners or wife before the career.

One interviewee retired to pursue the outcome of his research commercially. Among the whole sample of this study this was a unique experience in retirement. Although he retired with great ambitions about the future, he was the longest serving person in his department and from his generation the last one to retire.

'I decided at that point, it's a once in a lifetime opportunity, and I'm going to take essentially early retirement, but not very early, it was only a year and a half before I was 65, and take the lump sum and invest a large part of that in my own business idea.' (Jack, 66yrs)

Life in retirement

The interviewees expressed the same high level of continuity of academic activities in retirement as was expressed by the survey respondents. Most were still involved in different ways; some were still lecturing or researching on a regular basis, others were involved in university administration a couple of days a week. Some would do 'one-off things' from time to time or be working independently while holding a university title. The variety of ways individuals experienced continuity was reflected in different contractual arrangements, i.e. part-time employment, fixed term contracts or simply the right to use the some university facilities. Continuity of identity, of being an academic or a member of a discipline, clearly emerged from the interviews. While making sense of their continuities, identity and lifestyle, individuals would point to either current activities in retirement, academic related activities or activities that require academic skills, or to academic titles held since retirement to indicate continuity of professional identity.

'I am also, as well as emeritus professor, I'm also a foundation fellow.' (Ron, 70yrs)

'They made me an Honorary Fellow of the Department.' (Daren, 68yrs)

'But it was certainly in my mind to be a professor, I was pleased they made me an Emeritus Professor, I kept the title and that would encourage me to keep on as an academic. So even in retirement it's been a sort of part-time academic role, I think.' (Alan, 64yrs)

When describing their academic careers, it was made apparent that some of the interviewees felt that they identified more with certain roles of academic life than others. These preferences were usually translated in their choice of activities in retirement, whether in academia or other occupations that required the same set of skills. It was more common for individuals to withdraw from some academic activities after retirement rather than incorporate new ones.

'[Teaching] I loved doing it, but I thought, I'll bring this to an end so I can carry on doing the other aspects of my career, which was writing, travelling, researching, talking about my interests in a broad sense, not merely to undergraduates.' (Joseph, 66yrs)

'I'm still interested in all academic work, I'm still interested in developments and I'll still research in terms of things I'm teaching, but I'm not going to get involved in any major new projects. I'm certainly not going to write any books or anything, not at this stage.' (Robert, 62yrs)

'...it'd be nice to ... it hasn't worked out quite like that, but nice to go back to ... I did have it in my mind, to go back to more academic work, more research, but time was filled with other things.' (Alan, 64yrs)

Most of the interviewees believed that their academic skills and accumulated knowledge are highly transferable, enabling them to be engaged in activities in or out of academia if they wish. One interviewee summarises:

'You have really good skills you've developed as an academic typically which would be very much valued elsewhere.' (Jack, 66yrs)

The possibility of continued involvement was a source of satisfaction for nearly all interviewed. However, one individual while satisfied with life in retirement, had completely left academia after retirement:

'So I've adjusted quite well. I'm quite happy about it, and I do not miss the university. I'm glad I did it. There were some good times, and it's got to be said it's given me a decent pension.' (Gary, 64yrs)

For most other interviewees retirement was a process rather than a set event. The ones that were heavily involved with their universities after retirement slowly relinquished certain activities. Others, involved in academic-related activities outside their universities, continuously reassessed their routine and their commitments. Two interviewees managed to go through most of the transition process prior to formal retirement.

'...then gradually you just want to wind down, so one of the ways of winding down rather than stopping too abruptly, and clearly that's part of my strategy now, I didn't want to stop now because it's too abrupt. I gradually reduced the amount of administrative responsibilities that I had and still continued really with more or less the same teaching load, so that made life just that little bit easier and what I'm doing now makes it even easier' (Robin, 62yrs)

'So my plans were to retire when I was part-time at 60, which I did. Then I retired full-time when I was 63. That was nearly four years ago, so I am now

on lifetime sabbatical, where I just write my books in the morning and I do whatever I want to do thereafter.' (Joseph, 66yrs)

Most of the individuals interviewed did not find it difficult to adapt to retirement. However, two interviewees felt that they could have been more prepared for the transition to retirement. One pointed out the usual emphasis on sorting out financial matters, e.g. pension. Another interviewee felt universities could better prepare their staff to make this transition. When asked to compare life before and after retirement, interviewees usually highlighted having more choice, control and freedom over the use of their time in retirement. This was usually portrayed as one of the major benefits of retiring. One interviewee illustrates this idea:

'I say, after retirement, you don't have that same feeling of being on, being on a treadmill and I'd be getting up every morning and getting into get into work [chuckles] I have more choice in what I do, I'm more in control of my life.'
(Mathew, 62yrs)

Another interviewee points out that spare time is not necessarily filled by other activities, but simply allows life to be experienced at a gentler pace.

'So I think that's the difference, it's a change of pace, but I think you adjust to that and you almost lost it, you don't feel as if you've got a lot more time but you have. That's the difference.' (Robert, 62yrs)

He relates this slower pace to be a natural consequence of retirement and age. All the interviewees that were still involved in academic work had been cutting down their activities as they settled into retirement. There is a strong emphasis on cutting activities that are not preferred, like administration, marking, paperwork and activities that are too demanding, like overseas travelling, rush hour commuting, whole days of work and an inflexible routine. One interviewee discussed his fitness for heavy duty

teaching as he aged; he pointed out that there are other activities that allow a gentler engagement.

'I did feel that that was becoming more onerous as I got older. What I felt was it, It wasn't that I didn't love the job, it wasn't that I was disillusioned with the way universities were going, I just felt that I wanted to carry on being an active historian. I couldn't do that and be a full-time teacher. It's a bit like sportsmen. You learn to pace yourself differently. It's different when you're 30 and a footballer than when you're 20. And you watch them and they just play the game differently. But it's a bit like that.' (Joseph, 66yrs)

The changes related to the ageing process and the awareness of mortality was discussed further by another interviewee.

'I suppose there are intimations of mortality that come with it, the third age and all of that, but I can live with that (...) Have I been through a period, since retirement, when I've thought, God, this is the last third of my life? Yes, of course I have. Particularly when I spent all yesterday morning gardening. This hand here, I haven't got arthritis but it hurts like hell because I'm not used to doing it. Now, that never used to bother me before. Anyway, at my age hips and knees hurt like they never did before and it takes you longer to get over things. God, when I played rugby I could be smashed to bits on a Saturday but be training on a Tuesday. Well, these days if you injure yourself it just takes longer, and things start to fail more. Things like, I have tinnitus in one ear, which suddenly came on. I wear glasses now. It's only recently I've had to wear glasses for reading; I got to 64 before I needed glasses. I don't need them for driving. My hair gets thinner but I can live with those sorts of things. So, yes there are times when you think, good God you better make the most of this because there isn't a lot of it left.' (Daniel, 67yrs)

The desire to enjoy retirement before mental and physical decline starts to be an impediment to activities was expressed by some interviewees. None of the individuals interviewed expressed any financial concerns in retirement. On the contrary, many commented on their comfortable financial situation in retirement and the satisfaction of continuing working by choice and not from necessity.

One interviewee expressed doubts about his feeling of satisfaction in retirement. He was unsure if his activities in retirement were as valuable and relevant to others as before retirement. On the other hand, he felt that he was still finding a new routine for himself. All other interviewees voiced being satisfied with life in retirement. Some credited this to the fact that they were still able to be involved in a variety of activities and yet have autonomy over their time and choices. Others simply referred to their personalities and inclination to make the most of each stage of life.

'What's essential is that you get self satisfaction from what you do, and I always did, and I still do. So, I don't think it's [retirement] made any difference; I've just got greater flexibility. If I want a longer weekend to go and see the grandchildren I go; I don't dash off on Friday night and come back Monday morning. But I've kept up all the professional contacts, so... I'm no more or less content than I was, I think. It's just nice to have more time. I don't travel in the rush hour if I can avoid it now, and I don't come in for whole days; I come in for a morning or an afternoon for a few hours. So, it's not a dramatic change, but that's down to the individual, it's very personal.' (Ron, 70yrs)

'I know some people have said, 'Are you glad you retired?' And that's a difficult question to ask I think because if somebody says, 'Would you like to be 40 again or something?' I'd say, 'Oh yeah that'll be fine, I'll do that.' But that clearly is not possible [chuckles] so you might as well be happy and content in what you're doing at the moment. So I'm quite comfortable in being what I am,

because again, you see people on the TV and they say, 'Old age pensioner aged 62.' Well that's my age and I don't feel like this elderly looking person in ill health sat somewhere in their lounge room in quite poor circumstances and poor health, and I certainly know plenty of people that are well into their 80s and they're fine, but the trouble is all of a sudden they're not and that's what you never know.' (Robin, 62yrs)

CONCLUSION

In this chapter the findings from the interviews conducted in both Brazil and the UK were presented. In both groups, themes around the academic career, the decision to retire and life in retirement were discussed. The findings from each country were presented separately and the themes generated, however similar, were not necessarily the same.

The main topics explored in this chapter were: the routes into academic life, the academic career, the decision to retire, the transition to, and life in, retirement. Interestingly, Brazilian and UK academics tended to enter academia through the same routes: directly from their doctorate studies, from school teaching or from the industry, the latter usually joining academia as a career move.

The academic career were explored by the interviewees and usually described as a source of satisfaction. Individuals described their different career paths, promotions, moves into management or work outside academia to make sense of their professional identity. Interestingly, career-related events emerged as an important factor impacting on late career and retirement. Among the attitudes towards the academic career, Brazilian academics pointed out that academia is a vocation and some expressed their passion for their work. UK academics voiced being privileged to be an

academic. Negative attitudes towards their careers, seldom voiced by participants, were also explored in this topic.

Exploring the reasons to retire it emerged, for both groups, that the financial arrangements for retirement - the accumulation of pension, pension rules, etc - is an important factor regarding the decision to retire. Other reasons were also explored, such as the sense that it was time to go, a desire to enjoy life before being too old, reaching the compulsory retirement age or contractual retirement age, not feeling as fit as before to cope with the routine and the pressure of full-time employment.

The transition to retirement was described as a process for many. Cutting down the amount of work, either before or after retirement, was common to Brazilian and UK academics, although different strategies were used to achieve it. All individuals experienced some sort of continuity after retirement, some by formal engagements, others informally or by using transferable skills in other activities. The latter was made more explicit by UK participants. Overall, satisfaction with life in retirement was expressed by participants.

In the next chapter discussions of the findings, from both the on-line survey and the interviews will be presented.

CHAPTER NINE – Brazilian and UK academics: similar experiences in different contexts

INTRODUCTION

THE RETIREMENT OF ACADEMICS IN BRAZIL AND THE UK

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FOR ACADEMICS' RETIREMENT POLICIES AND PRACTICES

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This study has examined the transition from full-time work to retirement for Brazilian and UK academics, taking into consideration the meaning of their academic careers and the academic environment from which they draw their identities. Brazil and the UK seem culturally, social-politically and economically very distinct countries, but studying academics' retirement in such different contexts allows culturally specific, and universal aspects, on the transition to retirement of academics to emerge. Dorfman (1989) suggests that more cross-cultural/national studies are necessary to enhance the understanding of the transition to retirement for academics. Over the course of this study, comparing Brazil and the UK has been particularly useful for gaining insights into retirement policies and practices in academia as well as exploring what older academics want from retirement. In addition to this, it is important to point out that both Brazil's and the UK's public policies on retirement have been recently influenced by an ageing population.

The research questions that this study aimed to investigate were (1) How is the process of retirement experienced by Brazilian and UK academics? (2) What are the continuities and discontinuities experienced with regard to academic-related activities in the transition to retirement? (3) What are the determining factors of satisfaction in retirement for Brazilian and UK academics?

In the previous two chapters the findings from the survey and the interviews were presented. In this chapter the findings from the survey and interviews will be merged and discussed in relation to the previous literature on retirement and the retirement of academics. Generally, the findings from the survey were consistent with the findings from the interviews; the latter enhanced the understanding of certain aspects of academic careers and the transition and experience of retirement. In addition, this chapter will explore the implications of these findings both for individuals and for policy.

THE RETIREMENT OF ACADEMICS IN BRAZIL AND THE UK

For the academics who participated in this study there was no single reason influencing the decision to retire. Instead, retirement was due to a combination of circumstances and dispositions, consistent with the idea of a 'retirement zone' as put forward in the work of Vickerstaff (2006). Common reasons involved in decision-making included the desire to pursue other interests, to attend to family needs, organisational pressure and changes to pension scheme rules, among others. Only very few participants included the ill-health of self or of a family member as a reason to retire. For some participants, pressure and stress associated with the demands of work contributed to the decision to retire. In the literature on retirement it has been pointed out that worsening conditions at work, e.g. increased pressure and work-related stress, leads to lower job satisfaction and contributes to the decision to retire (Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008; Maltby, 2011). Paradoxically, nearly all participants from this research did not relate their decision to retire with dissatisfaction with the work situation; on the contrary, many said that they enjoyed work whilst often feeling pressures from changes to the work environment over the years.

Many participants, especially during the interviews, questioned their fitness to continue working at the same pace and with the same level of demands as before. Some indicated that, sooner or later, age-related limitations would push them out of work. Some expressed a sense that awareness of ageing is increasingly evident as the years go by and that this triggers a desire to make the most of life whilst sufficiently healthy. This idea of enjoying the 'third age' is well-documented in the literature (Scale and Scase, 2001; Gilleard and Higgs, 2005; Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Vickerstaff, 2010) and was reflected in the views of many of the participants for this study.

It emerged that age was commonly associated with the decision to retire. This was not related to a specific chronological age, but with reaching the pension entitlement age,

the contractual age for retirement or a compulsory retirement age. Age was perceived as a reference point for individuals to consider retirement. Among the participants, the actual retirement age varied considerably, consistent with the ideas associated with the 'individualisation' of the retirement experience (Vickerstaff and Cox, 2005).

Financial circumstances, particularly pension arrangements and savings, emerged as an essential factor in the decision to retire. It was common for individuals to delay or bring forward their retirement plans based on what would be more financially beneficial in retirement. Some individuals, due to a combination of circumstances, did not achieve adequate levels of savings to maintain their lifestyle. For a few Brazilian academics in this situation, not to be able to work beyond the compulsory retirement age was particularly worrying. Hedges *et al.* (2009) argue that the need to build adequate retirement finance tends to be a key motivator for people to work for longer.

In various studies (Loretto *et al.*, 2005; Phillipson and Smith, 2005; McNair, 2006; Vickerstaff, 2006) it has been pointed out that the amount of choice and control over the process of retirement is related to retirement satisfaction. Most academics included in this study indicated that they were able to control different aspects of the transition to retirement. However it was evident that the amount of control over their retirement process was related to the policies from each institution, pension scheme and external circumstances. For example, for some academics from the public universities [state owned] in Brazil, the retirement timing was determined by the pension reform for public servants (many retired just before state pension changes would otherwise have reduced their pension benefits). Some academics from post-1992 universities in the UK retired just before the age of 60 years old to take advantage of Teachers' Pension scheme rules regarding part-time employment and income in retirement. Consistent with Tizard and Owen's (2001) findings, individuals who accumulated more prestige, i.e. professors, deans, highly published academics, academics from more prestigious universities, etc, tended to have more control and

choice over the retirement transition and professional activities in retirement, both in Brazil and the UK.

In Brazilian universities, compulsory retirement policies are still maintained. Generally, individuals are retired at the age of 70, regardless of position, prestige, health or financial status. Even though some universities offer their compulsorily retired staff some alternatives for professional continuity, these opportunities are generally low paid or unpaid (volunteered). Respondents of this study who were compulsorily retired tended to find this policy arbitrary and old fashioned. Interestingly a few individuals voiced that compulsory retirement was a blessing in disguise. These participants felt that they were no longer fit for their work demands; however their commitment to their discipline or institution made it hard for them to take the initiative to seek retirement.

In the literature on retirement, particularly from countries looking into extending working life, much has been discussed about phased retirement and flexible working options to encourage people to stay in the labour force for longer (Phillipson and Smith, 2005; OECD, 2006; Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008; OECD, 2011). Among UK academics, a majority moved to a part-time work arrangement prior to retirement. This was in contrast to the very few Brazilian academics that had this opportunity to wind down before retirement. One Brazilian academic, retired from a state-owned university, commented on how he was 'penalised' with only half pension when his working hours were reduced to part-time a few years prior retirement. This may be an indicator that there is more flexibility in working arrangements in the UK than in Brazil, particularly when the impact on pension entitlements is considered.

Regardless of whether or not it was formal or informal, most academics included in this study actively tried to create a sense of gradual transition from full-time work to retirement, simulating a gradual retirement process. This is consistent with Atchley's (1989) idea that as individuals age the maintenance of a certain level of continuity is

desirable and actively sought by them. This study found that individuals holding positions in associations or societies, or with multiple employment, the latter largely Brazilians, slowly cut down on different roles as they approach retirement. Following retirement, the majority of academics engaged in paid work. A large majority of UK academics had part-time work arrangements and many Brazilians were also employed part-time. However, a significant number of Brazilian academics took full-time employment after retirement, unlike the UK counterparts. Brazilian academics retiring from public universities [state owned] tended to find formal employment in private sector institutions, though in the literature on retirement of academics there are exceptions as described by Dets (1994), where retiring academics were offered employment in the same public sector institution they retired from (see Dets, 1994 described in Chapter Five).

The findings of this research indicate that UK academics generally had more options than Brazilian academics with regard to work arrangements in retirement, with different individuals devoting different amounts of their time to academic activities. In contrast to their UK counterparts, Brazilian academics tended to either be heavily involved in academic activities (for most of their time) or at the other extreme, being involved very little, not devoting much of their time to such activities. Formalised volunteer roles in former departments or faculties were a common practice for many Brazilian retired academics. Emeritus status was also given to some academics, allowing them a certain level of involvement and access to some academic resources. This title was more commonly awarded to UK rather than to Brazilian academics.

Brazilian and UK academics commented that their academic involvement, whether paid or unpaid, formal or informal, brought them a sense of continuity. This finding, consistent with other studies on retired academics (Dorfman, 1985; Dorfman, 1989; Dorfman, 1992; Taylor, 1999b; Dorfman, 2000; Tizard and Owen, 2001; Dorfman, 2002; Dorfman *et al.*, 2005; Thody, 2011), indicates the applicability of Atchley's Continuity Theory for this occupational group. Generally, the desire for continuity in

academic activity was intrinsically motivated, many expressing their commitment to their disciplines, their institutions or to the positive impact of their work on other people. A few, mainly in Brazil, associated continuity with a financial need. It emerged that health status and overall fitness is a key determinant of the desire to seek continuity and how professional continuity is experienced. Healthier and fitter retired academics actively looked into being involved in activities in retirement (academic-related or otherwise), and individuals experiencing limitations due to health or ageing were less interested in being engaged in demanding activities.

Academic activities in retirement

Retired academics in this study engaged in a whole range of academic-related activities. This indicates that there are many ways that academics can achieve a continuity of professional identity. Teaching and research are usually among these, which is consistent with previous literature on the retirement of academics (Dorfman, 1985; Dorfman, 1989; Tizard and Owen, 2001; Thody, 2011). The number of retired Brazilian academics engaged in research was surprisingly high, considering that most academics throughout their careers in Brazil would be mainly teaching (Schwartzman and Balbachevsky, 1997; Mata, 2005). This finding suggests that they had worked for the elite universities in Brazil, i.e. public sector institutions such as Federals and some State universities, or private sector institutions like some Catholic universities (see universities of research in Chapter Four), and does not necessarily reflect the involvement in research for all Brazilian academics. In retirement, many academics in Brazil and the UK reported being engaged in activities, remunerated or not, which draw on skills developed as an academic - such as public speaking skills, research skills, writing skills, management in education, etc. These activities, although not identical to activities performed pre-retirement, helped these individuals to feel connected to their former career and professional identity. Some commented on the attractiveness of academics skills and how their skills were transferable and could be

used in other activities. It emerged that retired academics in Brazil and the UK have become involved in a variety of activities which draw on previous experiences as an academic. This highlights the scope for extending the working life for academics and how is it possible for them to maintain a continuity of their professional identity, in or out academia, if they wish to do so. In addition to formal engagements, informal activities, such as reading, meeting former colleagues and keeping in touch with other academics generally promoted a sense of continuity, especially for individuals of a more advanced age. It can be said that over the years in retirement, at their own pace, people tend to reduce formalised academic activities.

Adaptation and adjustment to life in retirement

According to Hirsch (2003) the adjustment to retirement, whether it is an abrupt transition or a gradual process may be a source of concern to many people. For many academics included in this study this adjustment process was a worry at some point. These concerns, usually associated with not having any plan to fill the void left by employment, included the fear of having nothing to do, the fear of feeling worthless, the difficulty of relinquishing certain aspects of academia, missing work as a structuring part of everyday life and as a source of identity.

Some academics, who felt that they had made the transition, reported that over time a new routine is negotiated and retirement becomes a satisfying stage of life. There was little evidence to say that the participants of this study received any preparation to retirement beyond information on pension status and rules. One individual commented on how much easier it would have been if he could have been more prepared for the transition to retirement.

Different participants explored their relationship with their career and the meaning of being an academic. For most, being an academic was a life choice, consistent with their values. Some described their involvement in academia as a vocation or a

passion. It was a privilege to have had an occupation which allowed them to pursue their interests and be paid for it. Consistent with the idea of the multi-level professional identity of academics described by Taylor (1999a), individuals associated themselves with different aspects of their 'professional identity'– expressing connection to certain roles, to their discipline, to the institution or to the lifestyle associated with academia. In retirement, individuals tended to seek a continuity of these preferred aspects, while discontinuing the less preferred ones.

Many participants voiced that retirement from employment does not necessarily mean retirement from their professional identity, their critical views, their interests, their knowledge or their skills. These individuals felt that they continued to be an academic even after retirement; however, it was pointed out that a retired academic is not always perceived the same way as before retirement by other people. Some felt that the label 'retired' lowered the perceived value of their opinions. This may indicate a negative attitude attached to the retirement status and the associated belief that retired individuals should shift their focus from work to other interests, such as leisure or family. Some individuals pointed out that although they were still engaged in academic activities, they found it harder to be up to date with their discipline or institution since retirement as they were no longer full members of staff. A few individuals refused to accept the label 'retired', as it has a negative meaning; one participant was particularly emphatic of his status as 'semi-retired' over the course of the interview.

Retired academics who participated in this study indicated satisfaction with life in retirement. For many of them, especially those who achieved a financial security to maintain a similar lifestyle, retirement meant that they had conquered/earned the 'right' to freedom, flexibility and a choice of activities. The meaning of work moved away from being a 'duty' to their families or community and became a source of personal development and pleasure, similar to leisure activities. Some researchers

found similar perceptions of work in later life for retirees of other highly qualified occupational level groups (Loretto, *et al.* 2005; McNair, 2006; Queiroz, 2007).

It was common for participants to express satisfaction with their lives in retirement and a majority expressed contentment with the amount of academic work performed in retirement. These findings are consistent with other studies on retired academics (Deps, 1994; Taylor, 1999b, Tizard and Owen, 2001). Retirement finance, while it is not exceptional, plays a great part with regard to this feeling of satisfaction and its importance cannot be taken for granted. In addition to this, relief from the pressures of the working life is central to the feeling of satisfaction in retirement. Many individuals also appreciated the possibility of embracing a healthier lifestyle in retirement which was not possible during working life. Some felt pleased not to feel controlled by their watches anymore, or not to be travelling during the rush hour. In Brazil, it was a relief not to be commuting to work while feeling constantly apprehensive of the latent urban violence. Most retired academics included in this study were prepared to give up certain things - such as more money, holidays abroad or meals out - in order to achieve this less demanding, less stressful existence.

The sources of dissatisfaction were usually linked to constraints individuals found in retirement, generating frustrations. Most of the times, this would relate to a lack of preparation for retirement – enhancing individuals' expectations and misconceptions of how continuities would be experienced in retirement – and to individuals' personal abilities to be flexible in adjusting to their goals as their circumstances changed (see Appendix 5: Brandtstädler and Greve, 1994; Baltes, 1997; Marcoen *et al.*, 2007).

Most individuals felt fortunate to be able to have had a chance to continue being involved in academic activity, especially at a slower pace. The allocation of opportunities and resources from universities/institutions for retired academics generated mixed feelings. While some felt pleased and grateful to receive some resources, such as access to a library or a shared room, and to be able to be part of

research teams - for instance as a volunteer or in a position of emeritus - others resented being given opportunities which were 'unpaid' as if this would mean they were of little value, or having been offered position of a lower grade after many years enjoying greater status. These limitations of resources generated frustration more often for UK rather than Brazilian academics. Even though this did not emerge from the responses, it is important to highlight that academics from different disciplines may have different needs in terms of institutional support and resources. Tizard (2004) has pointed out that there are very few institutions with clear policies regarding the amount of resources and support to be offered to retired staff; mostly the allocation is decided by departments and schools on a case-by-case basis. Thody (2011) suggests that even in the case of emeritus staff, their role and institutional support are not clearly defined.

The findings of this study, especially from the interviews, are consistent with recent debates in the retirement literature. There is a clear indication that the experience of retirement for academics is becoming increasingly individualised, comparatively more so for UK than Brazilian academics. As has been pointed out in the literature on retirement (Phillipson, 2002; Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Vickerstaff and Cox, 2005), this individualisation paradoxically brings opportunities and risks; especially because academic retirees cannot control all aspects of their retirement transition. When applying the concept of Cumulative Advantage and Disadvantage [CAD] to investigate the retirement of academics (Dannefer, 2003; Crystal, 2006; Ferraro *et al.*, 2009), it can be seen that for individuals from the same occupational group the accumulation of certain advantages and disadvantages can have long term effects. Academics who achieved more status and prestige in their careers are presented with better choice and more opportunities in retirement (see also Tizard and Owen, 2001). Over the course of the interviews, participants had the opportunity to take a life course perspective to make sense of their career-related experiences until retirement. From their narratives, there was a clear indication that career choices - whether to focus on

teaching, research or university management – the level of publications, the retirement policies and prestige of the institution they retired from, and even their formation years (the latter was particularly evident for Brazilian academics who had their PhDs from prestigious North American or European universities) can be influential regarding opportunities in retirement.

Most retired academics expressed the desire for a continuity of their professional identity. However, in addition to having a desire for maintaining professional continuity and the accumulated career related advantages and disadvantages to do so, other factors can influence their experience of retirement. These include the individual's health status, family responsibilities and other interests in life domains other than work.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FOR ACADEMICS' RETIREMENT POLICIES AND PRACTICES

In the first two chapters of this thesis it was pointed out that concerns over demographic changes and the sustainability of pension systems initiated changes in retirement policies for many countries. In Brazil these changes are largely targeted at discouraging early retirement practices while maintaining barriers to individuals who would like to work for longer, such as the practice of organisational compulsory retirement age. In the UK, policy changes are much more forceful in encouraging individuals to work for longer. Measures introduced include the removal of a default retirement age, pension reforms to encourage flexible retirement, a plan to raise the minimum state pension age and legislation to fight age discrimination in the workplace. While the prospect of extending the working life cannot be foreseen for certain occupations (Vickerstaff *et al.*, 2008; Vickerstaff, 2010), for academics there is an argument to say that this is possible, as for many this is already happening.

Unlike other occupational groups, retired academics are keen to continue contributing to their discipline and generally hold a good attitude towards their universities. Creating opportunities for retired academics aims not only to benefit retirees, but can also benefit universities. In this study, many retired academics voiced that they would like to have had their contributions supported and valued by the universities, not necessarily financially. In the case of the UK, Tizard (2004) and Thody (2011) had already argued that universities should see retired academics as a resource, and that providing the means for them to participate would benefit both the institution and the individual. In Brazil, the same argument is valid and to a certain extent was made by Veiga *et al.* (2007) in relation to state-owned universities, which often lose the skills and knowledge of their high qualified academic staff relatively early when they retire. The value of these retired academics is usually recognised by private institutions, which are open to employing them and therefore benefit from their experience and reputation. In this section two main arguments will be discussed further: the idea that universities could review their retirement and post retirement policies to allow retired academics the opportunity to continue participating in academic life; and the potential benefits of encouraging preparation and planning for retirement.

Universities' retirement and post-retirement policies in Brazil and the UK

The focus of this study was on the experiences of retired academics, and not necessarily on universities' policies on the retirement and the post retirement of their academic staff. However, in the light of the findings, it is inevitable that the implications for organisational policy should be discussed.

As the findings from this study suggest, most retired academics have a desire to continue to be involved in academic activities, especially if a flexible arrangement can be achieved. In order to prolong the involvement of academics, universities' policies may have to be adjusted to include different options, such as gradual retirement

options and defined policies on how retired academics can continue to contribute, including the amount of institutional resources and the support they may have to allocate. In the literature on Brazilian academics, only Bragança's study (2004) gives an indication of formalised policies regarding the participation of retired academic staff. In the literature on academics retiring from UK universities, Tizard (2004) has pointed out that very few institutions have clearly defined policies for the participation of retired academics. Thody (2011) highlighted that even emeritus professors do not necessarily have a defined role and set of resources in academia.

National differences between Brazilian and UK contexts in terms of retirement policies may suggest that the formalisation of more flexible retirement practices for academics are more likely to emerge in the UK than in Brazil. One factor is the different emphasis on public policies encouraging later and flexible retirement. In the UK various measures and policies were put in place to make it possible for individuals to work for longer if they choose to. In Brazil considerably fewer policies have been introduced, and these simply aimed to discourage early retirement.

Another factor is the level of independence of universities to set their own human resources policies on retirement and post retirement. In Brazil, where most private and Catholic universities have the autonomy to set their own policies on retirement they generally employ academics on hourly or fractional basis. Public universities - federal, state or municipal owned universities - the earlier two are the main employers of full-time academics, do not have the same level of flexibility and speed to introduce such policy changes, as their rules are centralised and tied to the retirement rules for civil servants in general. Therefore, much greater moves are necessary to implement changes which would allow a greater flexibility for retirement. In addition to this, in the light of many benefits and pension cuts civil servants have been experiencing, any changes to introduce phased retirement options would be seen with suspicion by unions. However, it must be highlighted that post retirement opportunities, such as volunteer or emeritus positions, can be arranged on an

institutional level, independent from centralised decisions. It emerged from this study that a few Brazilian universities have successfully introduced formalised positions for retired academics, building the case for more universities to consider introducing such positions and clear policies for retired academics' contributions.

In contrast with Brazil, UK universities seem to have more autonomy to design their own retirement policies. The findings of this study indicate that the majority of UK participants had a part-time position prior to retirement, in contrast to a small minority identified in Tizard and Owen's study (2001), suggesting that gradual retirement may already be practiced by some universities. Other research participants voiced that part-time re-employment following retirement, generally, was negotiated before the decision to retire had taken place, once again indicating a planned gradual transition. As this study did not ask universities about their formal policies with regard to the retirement and post retirement of its academic staff, discussions on actual university policies cannot take place. Based on the comments of many respondents though, it is clear that more transparency regarding retirement and post retirement policies is necessary so that people can make better retirement choices.

Preparation for the transition to retirement of academics

In addition to suggesting that the role of the retired academic should be rethought by institutions and that policies on retirement and post retirement of academic staff should be made more transparent– in some cases redesigned to give more options for retiring and retired academics - the findings of this study suggest that more thought should be given to retirement planning. It emerged from the findings that many academics retired with minimum preparation. While many made sure their finances were in order, very few seemed to have been prepared for retirement in other aspects of life.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the process of retirement involves a combination of continuities and discontinuities. While retired academics in Brazil and the UK expressed their desire for continuity, it was also clear that they were selective with regard to what aspects of continuity they wished to maintain. Similarly, the discontinuities of certain aspects were at times a source of satisfaction, at other times dissatisfaction. Retirement inevitably involves a certain level of re-negotiation of professional identity, usually reflecting the degree of change with which retirees are faced. Planning and preparing for retirement may facilitate the start of this process of re-negotiation of professional identity, helping academics to make sense of their new status and positions associated with this new status.

In addition to this, preparing and planning for retirement may play an important role in helping individuals to cope with their unique retirement experience; allowing a greater sense of control of the transition, especially as the experience of retirement is no longer standardised, but instead more diverse and difficult to predict. This trend for the individualisation of retirement can be more clearly noted among UK retired academics than Brazilian ones, especially when this relates to the flexibility of retirement policies, formal and informal work arrangements and the continuity of professional activity.

Even though the transition to retirement involves a degree of change, paradoxically it can be said that the transition to retirement does not lead to a new life. All the experiences, advantages and disadvantages that individuals have accumulated over their life (and more evidently midlife) will carry through to retirement (Phillipson, 1987, Crystal and Shea, 1990; O'Rand, 1996; Dannefer, 2003; Crystal, 2006; Ferraro *et al.*, 2009, Vickerstaff, 2010). It can be suggested from the findings of this study that the awareness of accumulated advantages and disadvantages may help individuals to better structure their activities in retirement. These advantages accumulated prior to retirement - such as have being highly published, having a strong network of contacts in a certain industry or discipline, having had a prestigious

position, having worked in a prestigious institution, being a renowned lecturer/speaker, etc - and their transferable skills tends to be the basis of continuity of professional activity for academics in retirement. On the other hand, disadvantages also accumulate. Poor health, caring responsibilities or other effects of ageing may impact the amount of continuity that may be experienced by retired academics. As an effect of accumulated disadvantages, the experience of continuity for retired academics is continually evolving and changing. This slowly changing experience of continuity in retirement was clearly voiced by academics interviewed that were older in age, both in Brazil and the UK.

Preparation for retirement may help academics to adjust to a different stage of their career (or post-career), matching expectations to opportunities available and coping with discontinuities that may happen as a consequence of retirement. It emerged from the responses that academic activity in retirement is generally allocated differently than from before retirement – for instance in terms of workload, terms and conditions, university status or rank, pay, etc – and this generated mixed feelings for retired academics. The same condition that makes some feel lucky and content made others feel undervalued and frustrated. While it can be argued that some universities could provide better support to retired academics, it was also evident that the mindsets of some academics were still in their pre-retirement circumstances, reflecting that although these individuals had retired they had not adjusted their expectations.

The argument explored in this sub-section is that preparation and planning for retirement would help to minimise the effects of discontinuities and maximise the possibilities of continuity for academics. It could be suggested that the process of preparation for retirement could start with the individual himself, by exploring accumulated advantages and disadvantages that may influence the transition to retirement. As part of this process, taking it back to the point previously explored in this chapter, it is important that universities' policies on retirement and post retirement of academic staff are clear and transparent so individuals are informed of

possible retirement arrangements within their institution. As later life becomes more flexible and retirement more individualised, preparation for retirement should start earlier, perhaps during midlife as its events and circumstances are likely to influence old age and retirement (Phillipson, 2002; Crystal, 2006; Vickerstaff, 2006). Brazilian and UK academics emphasised that satisfaction in retirement was largely related to having more autonomy and freedom to choose their involvements and to have the freedom to arrange slower paced activities. Preparation and planning for retirement should facilitate the achievement of a sense of control which is associated with retirement satisfaction for academics.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter the findings of this study were summarised and discussed. Even though the national contexts of academia in Brazil and the UK and the way universities are structured are different, the experience of retirement for academics is surprisingly similar. In both countries, academics enjoyed a continuity of professional activity, and moreover, identity following retirement. In contrast to this, the processes of retirement were noticeably different; for retired UK academics there was clearer evidence of formalised gradual transition to retirement, while for Brazilians the sense of gradual transition tended to be created by individuals. In both countries, satisfaction in retirement is evident, and it is related to an enhanced freedom and autonomy, and without financial worries as most retired academics were receiving adequate pension.

This chapter finishes with a discussion on the implications of the findings for the transition to retirement of academics. This section is divided into two foci. The first focus is on discussions around the universities' retirement and post retirement policies, the scope to change, the need for transparency and the differences between the Brazilian and UK context. The second focus is on the benefits of academics'

planning and preparing for retirement. In the light of the changing nature of the transition to retirement and the increased individualisation of the retirement experience, preparation for retirement would help academics to renegotiate their identities and adjust to retirement at different stages of life.

In the next chapter the conclusions of the study will be developed. The findings in relation to the context of older workers will be explored and the limitations of the study and the scope for further research will be discussed.

CHAPTER TEN – Conclusion

INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

UNDERSTANDING THE WORK-RETIREMENT TRANSITION

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

REFLECTIONS ON THE OUTCOMES OF THIS STUDY

FURTHER RESEARCH

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the findings from the survey and interviews were merged and differences and similarities between Brazilian and UK retired academics were summarised and discussed. Chapter Nine also explored the implications of these findings for policy and for individuals. Chapter Ten provides a summary of the research and considers the implications of the study for understanding the transition from work to retirement. The chapter begins with an overview of the study, including the context of the study in terms of the changing trends in demographics, practices and policies in the transition to retirement relevant for the UK and Brazil. The initial motivation to conduct this study is also explored. Following this, the research questions are introduced and the key findings presented. This chapter continues by exploring the limitations of the study and reflecting on the challenges in studying 'retirement' in light of the ambiguity of the term.

The chapter then moves to include some reflections on the contribution of this study in the context of broader research about the transition to retirement. These reflections include the similarities in the transition of UK and Brazilian academics, explorations of the power of the academic professional identity and its impact on the retirement experience. It also discusses how the findings from this study can be helpful to understand the transition to retirement for other professionals and occupational groups. Building on this, the chapter concludes by exploring suggestions for further research on retirement

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

For over a decade, much attention has been given to the consequences of the demographic changes related to an ageing population (WHO, 2002; OECD, 2001; Ghosheh *et al.*, 2006; OECD, 2006; OECD, 2011a). The WHO (2002) has emphasised

the risks and opportunities associated with an ageing population, highlighting the importance of keeping older people engaged in society, which is reflected in its 'active ageing' framework. In this context, the OECD and other countries (Samorodov, 1999; OECD, 2001; OECD, 2006; OECD, 2011a) started to debate the idea of 'extended working life'. Initially, this debate included the argument that the retirement of 'baby-boomers' [those born from approximately 1946 until approximately 1964 depending on the country] would result in skill shortages (Taylor, 2010; Vickerstaff, 2010). However since the recent economic downturn the focus has been mainly on the financial implications of an ageing population, such as the sustainability of the pension system if retirement practices remain the same and longevity continues to rise (OECD, 2001; Ghosheh *et al.*, 2006; OECD, 2006; OECD, 2011a). Vickerstaff (2010) has pointed out the need to conduct more research on the transition to retirement in order to better inform debates on extending the working life. Gilleard and Higgs (2000) argue that the growing fragmentation of the ageing experience *per se* calls for more research in order to explore the diversity of older people's experiences.

This research was initially motivated by the idea that older people are a valuable resource to society, although underutilised and undervalued in a variety of ways. For a number of years the researcher was part of a team coordinating retirement groups at a university in Brazil, and most retired individuals from this group were still keen to continue activities related to their professional identity. Not all of the participants of these groups were academics, however the academics tended to be able to fulfil that desire for professional continuity in retirement more evidently than others. Some years later, working in a university in the UK, the researcher noticed a high number of retired academics still active within the university community. These similarities in the professional-related activities of retired academics informally observed in Brazil and the UK were the starting point of this study.

As Dorfman (1989) has pointed out in her research comparing the retirement of academics in the USA and the UK, more cross-cultural studies are necessary to

separate universal from culturally-specific retirement practices. In Brazil and the UK (see Chapter Four) universities and higher education are structured differently; these variations include the qualifications of staff, work practices and tradition. Similarities can, however, also be found. In both countries there are a range of different universities, emphasising contrasting activities (research or teaching) and following different academic and managerial structures.

In addition to this, it is important to highlight that the national and political contexts of retirement in these two countries show contrasting features. Even though, like the UK, Brazil has been facing the challenge of supporting an ageing population, measures to control the effects of this are clearly more notable in the case of the UK where policies to encourage the labour force participation of older workers and therefore later retirement are being implemented. In Brazil, while policies to discourage the early retirement of civil servants have been put into practice, the main concern is to encourage contributions and increase the coverage of the pension system in order to tackle acute poverty in old age (see Chapter Two).

Reviewing the literature on the retirement of academics, drawn from studies from the USA, the UK and Brazil, it was clear that most academics were satisfied with their retirement and many experienced a significant continuity of professional activity (Dorfman, 1985; Dorfman, 1989; Deps, 1994; Taylor, 1999b; Tizard and Owen, 2001; Bragança, 2004; Veiga *et al.*, 2007; Thody, 2011). Some studies in the UK indicated limited clarity in policies towards the contribution of retired academics (Tizard, 2004; Thody, 2011). Research in Brazil showed that while some universities have clear policies for involving retired academics (Bragança, 2004), other universities, particularly from the public sector, lose the skills of retired academic staff to private institutions. They have the autonomy to offer alternative work arrangements for a lower salary and at the same time benefit from the experience and prestige of academic staff who retired from the public sector (Veiga *et al.*, 2007). All these

studies left gaps for further research (explored in Chapter Five), which the present study aimed to address.

The research questions investigated in this study were:

1. How is the process of retirement experienced by Brazilian and UK academics?
2. What are the continuities and discontinuities of academic-related activities experienced in the transition to retirement?
3. What are the determining factors of satisfaction in retirement for Brazilian and UK academics?

In order to address these questions, the study utilised a mixed methods approach, combining an on-line survey and in-depth narrative interviews. The survey stage collected one hundred completed questionnaires: fifty in each country. In the interview stage twenty retired academics were interviewed: ten from each country. The findings from the two stages were compared and contrasted providing a more comprehensive picture of the transition to retirement for UK and Brazilian academics.

UNDERSTANDING THE WORK-RETIREMENT TRANSITION

In the research literature it has been highlighted that the transition to retirement, whether abrupt or gradual, can raise difficult issues for the individual (Hirsch, 2003), particularly as retirement is becoming difficult to predict and increasingly individualised (Phillipson, 2002; Phillipson and Smith, 2005; Vickerstaff and Cox, 2005). In addition to this, the recent orientation towards extending working life contributes to a greater sense of uncertainty regarding the transition to retirement (see Chapter Two). It has also been found that events in midlife have a significant impact on the outcomes of retirement (Phillipson, 2002; Crystal, 2006; Vickerstaff, 2006) and for many individuals, traditional structural elements of the life course such

as work (Gilleard and Higgs, 2005) are losing their importance as sources of identity. For men and women in their fifties work-related identities are being replaced by identities associated with non-economic activities such as leisure pursuits and volunteering (Phillipson, 2002). To study retirement from the perspective of Continuity theory (Atchley, 1999), a researcher has to take into consideration the impact of social and psychological changes affecting the period around mid-life.

While it is tempting to place 'older people' in one group, it must be emphasised that the older population is a very diverse group whose members experience the changes related to ageing, such as retirement, in different ways (Gilleard and Higgs, 2000; Vickerstaff, 2010). In the literature, factors such as qualifications, gender, income, occupational level and employment status are reported to influence the retirement experience, especially with regard giving a greater sense of choice and control (Loretto, *et al.*, 2005; McNair, 2006; Queiroz, 2007). In addition to these, people accumulate other advantages and disadvantages throughout life (such as health and finance) that may also affect their circumstances in later life and retirement outcomes. The combination of these factors, place older people in different 'groups' and may be a determinant with regard to how much continuity individuals may desire and can realistically achieve in later life. In this study, although in two different contexts, only one occupational group is investigated. The implications of this for the broader research on the transition to retirement will be explored further in this chapter.

Overall, this study suggests that the transition from full-time work to retirement is a process that may stretch for a considerable period of time, and which for some individuals involves a gradual change in work arrangements. While many people experience their retirement transition as a process, this may vary from individual to individual indicating the development of a more individualised experience of retirement. People who are intrinsically motivated about their work tend to find that maintaining a certain continuity of professional identity in retirement is a source of

satisfaction. The key findings of this study, particularly in relation to the research questions, are summarised in the section below.

Key findings and contributions to new knowledge

While investigating the process of retirement it became apparent that Brazilian and UK academics tend to experience a certain level of professional continuity following retirement. However, how the professional activity is actually continued in retirement varies from individual to individual. It is clear that the process of retirement in the UK facilitated a greater range of alternatives when compared to the process in Brazil.

Before exploring the continuities and discontinuities present in the transition to retirement, a key research finding was that desire for continuity was expressed by both UK and Brazilian academics, reinforcing the idea of continuity as proposed by Atchley (1989, 1999). For many, this continuity of professional work was not necessarily exercised through re-employment or paid work; some individuals were satisfied with volunteer positions or an occasional contribution, provided that it was recognised by the institution. Retired academics (from both countries) found continuity in a variety of academic-related activities, teaching and research activities were especially prevalent. For a majority, from both countries, retirement also lead to a degree of discontinuity, being at times a source of relief or dissatisfaction. In both countries the amount of continuity desired was related to the individual's health status, age and period in retirement.

When asked, most retired academics reported being satisfied in retirement once they had managed to negotiate a new routine. The feeling of satisfaction was usually associated with a sense of financial stability and a greater autonomy regarding the use of their time and choice of activities. In the majority of cases, retired academics

commented that to be still engaged in academic-related activities was also a source of satisfaction.

The main implications of these findings for academics' retirement policies and practices were also discussed in the previous chapter and are summarised in two main points. First, the findings of this study call for universities to rethink their retirement and post retirement policies in order to allow for a greater flexibility in retirement arrangements, such as gradual retirement and opportunities for participation after retirement. Considering that many academics stated that they were motivated to continue contributing to their universities and disciplines there is a clear opportunity to encourage extending their working life. This applies to Brazilian and UK academics even when taking into consideration their fundamental contextual differences. Secondly, when defining what the possible roles are for academics, universities should make retirement-related policies more transparent. This allows retirees to feel more in control of their retirement transition and outcomes; and allows them to better prepare and plan for retirement.

Over the course of this study, retired academics indicated that they were not necessarily prepared for the transition into retirement. While this was not an issue for some, many indicated that they felt unprepared, surprised by or dissatisfied with certain aspects of the retirement transition. These findings suggest that academics would benefit from preparing and planning for retirement. The process of preparing and reviewing the options for the future may help retired academics to adjust and renegotiate their new identity and position. This is especially relevant as the experience of retirement is becoming more unique to each individual and therefore it is more difficult to predict what to expect. In the present context, where extending the working life is desirable, preparation for retirement does not necessarily only mean helping individuals to move out of the world of work but also helping them to find alternative retirement arrangements which may involve working for longer. The

retirement preparation process could be encouraged by the institution although, individuals may also consider preparing for retirement independently.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The findings of this study were consistent with findings from the study conducted by Tizard and Owen (2001). However there were some limitations to the methodology of this study. The data cannot be said to be representative of the retired academic population in Brazil or the UK. The sample used was relatively small and even though alternative channels were used to recruit participants, such as notes in academic-related publications calling for participants, the sample was largely recruited through the snowballing technique with the support from the human resource departments of universities, departments/faculties and alumni and personal contacts. A possible consequence of this is that individuals who were no longer in touch, might not have had the chance to be included in the research.

As highlighted in the survey findings (Chapter Seven) and also pointed out in the interview findings (Chapter Eight), a large number of participants in this study were holding prestigious university positions prior to retirement. The literature (Rowe, 1976; Tizard and Owen, 2001) suggests that individuals who hold higher status positions in academia are more likely to seek and experience a continuity of their professional identity following retirement. Therefore, it can be argued that as this sample has a high number of professors (or equivalent in Brazil) the level of opportunities and desire for continuity is likely to appear higher than if the sample's distribution of academic position matched the one of the total academic population of Brazil and the UK. Therefore, it cannot be said that the retirement patterns for every academic in Brazil and in the UK are reflected in this study.

In Brazil, the sample was largely composed of individuals recruited from federal, large state universities and Catholic universities – these are considered ‘universities of research’ (Mata, 2005) and elite universities where staff enjoy higher pay, more opportunities for research and more chance of an exclusive contract with the institution. In the UK there was a balance of respondents from pre- and post-1992 universities, allowing differences in work and pension arrangements to emerge. In retrospect, it would have been helpful if a question tracking the type of university academics retired from was included in the survey so differences between universities’ policies and practices in retirement could have been better reported.

The distribution of the questionnaire – as an on-line survey – proved to have its limitations. Internet access may have been a problem for potential respondents: two respondents who were willing to participate but had no internet available got in touch with the researcher. This limitation related to technology was overcome by posting them a hard copy of the questionnaire. A stamped self-addressed envelope was included with each questionnaire sent. Once their responses were electronically saved their questionnaires were destroyed in order to preserve confidentiality.

Challenges of studying retirement

Although, this was not included as a limitation to this study it is important to highlight that studying the transition to retirement can be a challenge due to the many meanings individuals attach to the word ‘retirement’. In Chapter Two the concept of retirement was discussed and the definition of retirement used for this study was presented. This definition was included in all material used to call for participants (such as emails, notes published, first page of the online questionnaire, etc), in order to prevent individuals from confusing retirement as ‘drawing pension’ with a complete exit from paid work.

Despite this effort to clarify the issue, many retired academics did not participate in the research because they did not consider themselves 'retired'. One contact in a university in the UK explained that in his university there were plenty of recently retired academics who could participate in the research, however as these individuals were re-employed by the university following retirement, and they did not consider themselves retired. Also, they tended not to engage with other retired staff, who had been retired for longer. This information could not be verified by the researcher. Still, there were other occasions when retired academics got in touch with the researcher to explain that they had not retired, they just drew their pension and obtained a new position.

These different interpretations of 'retirement' raise the question of the extent to which individuals are uncertain of the position retired people occupy in society. Also it questions the extent to which people believe that there is a place for paid work in retirement. In this study, consistent with the literature (Atchley, 1982; Ekerdt and DeViney, 1990; Kohli and Rein, 1991; Atchley, 2000; Gilleard and Higgs, 2000), the ambiguity attached to the concept of retirement is noted, indicating that retirement means different things to different people. .

REFLECTIONS ON THE OUTCOMES OF THIS STUDY

This section aims to reflect on the contribution of this study to the broader literature on the transition to retirement. However, prior to this, this section explores important particularities of the academic profession and its implications for retirement research.

Characteristics of the academic profession and its impact on retirement

Over the different stages of this study, the similarities and differences in academic context and academic practices between Brazil and the UK were explored. From the literature reviewed for this thesis it was clear that the academic contexts in Brazil and the UK are dissimilar in a number of ways. Although universities in Brazil and the UK share similar aims, there are differences in working practices, the level of qualification of academic staff and their contractual arrangements. In addition to these differences specific to academia, the cultural, economical and social-political environments of each country contribute to creating different contexts for universities in Brazil and the UK regarding the transition to retirement.

Despite the differences in context, similarities between the findings from these two countries emerged from the interviews and survey. These can be noted from the beginning of individuals' academics careers (including routes into academia and motives to pursue an academic profession), until the moment their transition to retirement takes place (most of the participants at the time of this research were not completely disengaged from their professional identity as an academic). These commonalities between Brazilian and UK academics indicate that they share certain 'universal' aspects of an academic identity. It emerged that their experiences in the transition to retirement were shaped by these aspects which relate to their occupation (academics) and professional identity, rather than by the aspects of their cultural/national context.

In the review of the literature, many authors (see Piper, 1994; Enders, 1999; Taylor, 1999a) emphasise the 'multilevel' nature of the academics' professional identity. Some theorists emphasise the heterogeneity of the academic profession. This heterogeneity is generally associated with differences such as: the national or cultural context (Enders, 1999; Collini, 2012), the rules of the various disciplines (Piper, 1994; Taylor,

1999a), the variation in occupational roles and functions within academia (Enders, 1999) and the institutional contexts (Piper, 1994; Taylor, 1999a). Taylor (1999a), however, argues that there is a level of identity, common to all academics, related to a universal image of academic identity. This universal image reflects general views on the academic career and profession (see more on Chapter Four). The level of identity described by Taylor explains the similarities in attitudes and experiences towards academic work and retirement reported by Brazilian and UK academics.

The strength of the academic identity, at times described in the findings as a 'vocation', and the reported intrinsic motivation (not necessarily remuneration) to engage in academic activities, make academics a special occupational group where its members generally hold strong links with their work. The awareness of this strong link is a fundamental aspect to understand their retirement experiences (Atchley, 2000). In addition to this, the very nature of academic activities such as a certain level of autonomy and independence, esteem, prestige (Farrugia, 1996; see also Chapter Four) and the way the academic career unfolds contribute to a desire for a continuity of identity in retirement. In addition to this, the way expertise develops in different roles, lines of research, and the recognition and reward following this linear progression (Taylor, 1999a) are also contributory factors.

This study indicates that retired academics manage to achieve continuity in a variety of ways and drawing upon a variety of arrangements, from full-time employment to independent research or informal contact with former colleagues. Thus retired academics can continue participating in a variety of academic activities whilst not necessarily holding formal employment, or even any links, with a university.

These characteristics of the academic profession differentiate the experiences of work and retirement for its members significantly from many others in different lines of work. However, it is likely that some other occupational groups, especially those holding professional status, share some of the same experiences as academics. These

include those groups with parallels to the academic profession such as consolidated educational requirements, specialised knowledge, autonomy, independence and, moreover, a strong sense of professional identity (see more discussion on professionals in the Chapter Four). Some of these professional groups might include architects, lawyers, and medical doctors among others. However, further research is necessary to verify this.

Although there are other groups which may be expected to enjoy similar opportunities in retirement, most people are likely to face prospects that are different from those of academics with regard to late working life and retirement. How the findings of this study fit in the broader literature of the transitions to retirement is taken up in the following section.

Retirement of academics in the broader context of retirement research

The previous section makes evident that academics comprise a privileged group in terms of opportunities as well as the likelihood of achieving continuity in retirement. The broader research on the transition to retirement highlights different groups of people with regard to their possibilities to have control over their working life and retirement. From the three groups: suggested by McNair (2006), male academics would certainly fit in the first group, with the highest scope for choice regarding their retirement transition (see also Loretto, *et al.*, 2005; Queiroz, 2007 in Chapter Three). While it can be said that the findings from this study do not bring particular insights into the transition to retirement for 'blue collar' workers - the third group described by McNair (2006) - for other occupational groups, particularly the ones of professional backgrounds, it would be interesting to explore how similar their transition to retirement is to academics, and what the factors are that differentiate them.

At the start of this study, the researcher contemplated including another occupational group to be compared with academics. The one considered at the time was engineers,

due to the fact that they seem to share similar and diverging aspects to academics. Engineers hold a professional status and could, as with academics, fit into a group that has more choice and control over the retirement transition (see Loretto, *et al.*, 2005; McNair, 2006; Queiroz, 2007 explored in Chapter Three). Yet, the nature of engineering work, employment arrangements and practice, seem to differ from those of academics, potentially resulting in contrasting experiences in the transition to retirement.

Despite the desire to include another occupational group in the investigation of the transition to retirement, in practice this would have been difficult to achieve within the scope of this research project, especially considering the challenges associated with the logistics of cross-cultural studies. However, it might be pointed out that the comparison of the experiences of retirement across different occupations, including engineers, could be a fruitful area for future research in the same way that it was found that the attitudes, views and pathways into retirement for academics are largely influenced by their professional identity, even in very different contexts such as Brazil and the UK. When investigating other professionals, key questions might include: (1) what professional identity aspects have an influence in the transition to retirement, (2) to what extent this influence will vary in different cultural contexts and (3) how the influence of professional identity in retirement differs from occupation to occupation (for instance, if compared to the findings on academics described in this thesis).

In addition to the suggestion above, there are other directions for future research that could build on this study and would add to the literature on the transition to retirement. These will be outlined in the following section.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Following the research carried out for this thesis, the researcher has identified areas for future research. The suggestions for future research, including the ones identified in the previous section are as follows: first, it would be valuable to undertake research to explore the retirement of women academics, both in Brazil and the UK. In the literature (Schwartzman, 1998; Bosi, 2007; Universities UK, 2009) there is an indication that women are still underrepresented in the highest positions of universities. This may impact on their transition to retirement and opportunities for professional activity following retirement (Tizard and Owen, 2001). Second, during this research, it became apparent that understanding the retirement and post-retirement policies and practices of universities is an important area for further study. While it was clear that policies and practices impact the retirement of academic staff, further work would help to clarify their particular role in the transition to retirement. Third, building on this study, it would be fruitful if more cross-cultural research on the retirement of academics are conducted as there is still much to be learned from the practices of other countries. Finally, as highlighted in the previous section, it would be valuable to conduct more research on the transition to retirement for other occupational groups (especially from professional backgrounds) to identify their scope for the continuity of professional activity in retirement and to explore the influence of their professional identity on their attitudes, experiences and pathways into retirement.

CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to give an overview and present the conclusions of this study. The discussion started by briefly revisiting the importance of studying retirement as the older population is growing and living longer. In addition to this, the personal motivation for the researcher to conduct this study, and an overview of the research

questions and the research design were presented. The chapter continued by presenting the key findings of this research and its implications which were discussed in length in the previous chapter (Chapter Nine). The limitations of the study were examined in detail, especially with regard to the restrictions faced in the process of recruiting participants and the high number of participants of this research who held prestigious university positions prior to retirement. Following this, a small section exploring the challenge of studying retirement was included. The researcher explored the challenges in studying retirement using the literature considering the fact that there is no universal definition of retirement as people attach different meanings to the concept of retirement, based on their own experience.

Following this, the implications of this study in the broader context of research on the transition to retirement were discussed. The points highlighted included the facts that academic professional identity and its implication for retirement are remarkably similar in Brazil and the UK, supporting Dorfman's (1989) argument regarding the importance of conducting cross-cultural studies. It was also pointed out that academics form a special and somewhat 'privileged' group in respect to their transition to retirement and this may not be transferable to all occupational groups. It was suggested that some groups, particularly the ones holding a professional status, might experience a similar scope and desire for continuity of professional activity in retirement. However, it is clear that more research should be conducted to verify this assumption. In addition to the issues suggested above, this chapter concluded by outlining areas for future research, including the retirement of women academics and the retirement of academics in other countries, which could further build on the findings of this research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INVITATION LETTER TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SURVEY STAGE OF THE RESEARCH (THIS WAS ALSO INCLUDED AS THE FIRST PAGE OF THE ON-LINE QUESTIONNAIRE).

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR THE ON-LINE SURVEY.

APPENDIX 3: INFORMATION SHEET AND INFORMED CONSENT FOR INTERVIEW

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

APPENDIX 5: PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS TO ADJUSTMENT TO AGEING AND RETIREMENT

**APPENDIX 1: INVITATION LETTER TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SURVEY
STAGE OF THE RESEARCH** *(THIS WAS ALSO INCLUDED AS THE FIRST PAGE
OF THE ON-LINE QUESTIONNAIRE).*

Dear Sir/Madam,

You have been contacted to take part in a research project on retirement of academics. This research is being undertaken at the Research Institute for Life Course Studies at Keele University and is being conducted by the PhD student Mrs. Tatiana Schifferle-Rowson and is supervised by Prof. Christopher Phillipson and Prof. Sian Maslin-Prothero.

The aims of the research are to investigate the transition from work to retirement for academics, including how retirement affects lifestyle and self identity.

At this stage, if you agree to take part, you will be requested to fill in the following online questionnaire.

Link:

http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=20AOMYJl4ecDjuNoC_2bvF2w_3d_3dx

(If you prefer I can email you this link, please contact me on t.schifferle.rowson@ilcs.keele.ac.uk).

The outcomes of the research will be presented in a PhD dissertation and any publications arising from the study. Anonymised quotations from the questionnaire might be included. However, any information or data that might lead to identification of the participant will not be included in the findings or circulated in any way. Participants will not be identified without their written consent.

The data collected will be kept confidential. This will only be viewed by the researcher and, if requested, by the research supervisors. All data will be stored securely in

accordance with the Data Protection Act (HMSO 1998). Any identifying features occurring on the questionnaire will be removed on receipt. Finally, once the project has been completed all data will be retained for a maximum of five years after completion of the project and then destroyed.

If you any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me at any stage.

Yours sincerely,

Tatiana Schifferle Rowson

Contact details:

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APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR THE ON-LINE SURVEY.

Questionnaire on Retirement of Academics

Please tick your replies or add your comments

Personal Details

Age:

Are you: () Married () Widowed () Divorced () Single

Currently Living: () With partner () With others, e.g. friend () Alone

Age at retirement, i.e. When you first drew your pension even if you continued in paid employment after this date _____

Date of retirement _____

Did you have other professional activities apart from University Teaching/Researching?

() Yes () No

If so, What? _____

Were you working in more than one university when you first retired?

() Yes () No

At retirement, were you a:

() Lecturer/Researcher () Senior lecturer/Researcher

() Professor/Researcher () Reader/Researcher

At the point of your retirement, were you working: () Part time () Full time

What was your discipline, eg. Medicine, Philosophy, Physics, etc.

After retirement, did you continue in paid employment at your own or another university?

☐ Yes, full time ☐ Yes, part time ☐ No

If Yes, for how many years did this, has this continued?

Current Activities:

Since retirement have you done/did you do any paid consultancy work for industry, government, universities, etc? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, What? _____

Does/did this work draw on your special skills or experience? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Following retirement have you been/were you in paid employment, OUTSIDE the university, e.g. school teaching, medical practice?

☐ Yes, full time ☐ Yes, part time ☐ No

If yes, please state what you do/did _____

Does this work still continue? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Do you currently do/did you do any voluntary work?

☐ Yes, full time ☐ Yes, part time ☐ Yes, occasionally ☐ No

Please, state what is it/was: _____

Does/did this work draw on your special skills or experience? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Do you currently spend more time than before retirement on interests not related to your former work, e.g. music, art, travel, reading?

☐ Yes, they take up an appreciable amount of my time

☐ Yes, to some extent

☐ No

If yes, state what they are _____

Do you currently spend more time looking after your grandchildren or caring for other relatives?

- ☐ Yes, this takes up an appreciable amount of time
- ☐ Yes, more than occasionally e.g. one day a week, or regular weekends
- ☐ Yes, but only occasionally
- ☐ No

If yes, please mention whom you care for _____

Involvement in academic related work:

The aim of this section is to see what kind of academic work, if any, people continue to carry out in retirement. From the list below, please, tick the activities you have been involved since retirement and add any others that have not been included here.

- ☐ No connection with academic career is maintained
- ☐ University teaching (including occasional lectures, seminars, tutorials)

Did/do you get paid for this teaching? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- ☐ Work with research students (mentoring, supervising, etc)
- ☐ Research (include library research for books and papers)

Did/do you have a grant or salary to help carry out research?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Sometimes

☐ Universities or academic related organisations' administration. E.g. advisory committees, editorial boards, selection boards.

☐ University examining

☐ Review of academic books or articles for journals or publishers

☐ Review research proposals

☐ Writing/Publishing academic books (including book editing, contribution to chapters)

☐ Writing/Publishing on academic (peer reviewed) journals

☐ Editing academic journals

☐ Attending/Attended academic conferences, workshops etc.

If yes, did you read any papers there? ☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ Written or spoken comments on academic issues in the media

☐ Get in touch with colleagues, formally or informally, to discuss academic issues

☐ Read academic books and journals

Do you currently read as many academic books and journals as you read before retirement?

☐ More ☐ About the same

☐ Fewer than before ☐ Hardly any or none

Please, state if there are any academic activities which you are not involved in, but wish you were_____

Would you want to be paid for this work?

☐ Yes ☐ Not necessarily

Do you currently have as much contact as you wish with colleagues with whom you can discuss academic issues?

☐ Yes, plenty of contact ☐ Some contact

☐ Not really enough contact ☐ Do not require such contact

Is there any other academic activity that you are involved formally or informally?
Please, include any other comments on your academic activities since retirement._____

Would you say that the health and disability of yourself and/or partner or a dependent has impinged on your ability to carry out academic work?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Reviewing all the academic activities listed above, would you say that in all they currently take

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Little or none of your time | <input type="checkbox"/> About half of your time |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than half of your time | <input type="checkbox"/> More than half of your time |

Satisfaction with the amount of academic activity

Are you broadly satisfied with the extent of your current involvement in academic-related activities?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> I would prefer to do less |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I would prefer to do more | <input type="checkbox"/> I would do more if paid |

Please, explain your reply: _____

Current attitudes towards retirement from university post

Would you have preferred to retire at an earlier or later age than you did?

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, earlier | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, later |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unsure, it depends | <input type="checkbox"/> No |

Preferred age of retirement _____

Would you have preferred to retire initially on a part time basis?

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | <input type="checkbox"/> In effect I did |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|

What were the reasons for retiring when you did? (More than one reason can be ticked)

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reached retirement age |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reached compulsory retirement age (Brazil only) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stress or illness of self or family member |

- ☐ Dissatisfaction with aspects of work situation
- ☐ Wanted time to pursue other interests
- ☐ Wanted more time for academic writing and research
- ☐ Favourable financial settlement
- ☐ Pressure from department/university
- ☐ Other, please state _____

Please tick any of the following attitudes to retirement which you agree with:

- ☐ I appreciate the freedom to arrange my time as I like
- ☐ I appreciate the fact that I have more time to pursue my own academic interests
- ☐ I appreciate the fact that I have more time to pursue other interests and activities
- ☐ I miss social and academic contacts with other staff
- ☐ I miss contact with students
- ☐ I feel out of the game and no longer of consequence.
- ☐ I feel better and healthier, following my retirement
- ☐ I feel lost at home; I find it difficult to get into a routine
- ☐ I feel relieved that I don't have the pressure/stress from work that I had before.
- ☐ I am happy that I can still do some work in my area of knowledge/expertise
- ☐ I miss the institutional support that I previously received from the university to do my work
- ☐ I miss the status of being employed by a university

- ☐ I appreciate having more time for my family
- ☐ I find that retirement has brought me new opportunities
- ☐ I feel that I'm no longer valued for my knowledge and experience
- ☐ Other comments _____

Have you experienced any significant changes in your life since retirement? (E.g. moved house, lost partner/wife, started a completely new leisure activity, or started a business etc).

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, what was it _____

On the whole, how would you compare life before and after retirement? (I know that this is a broad question, but you can talk about what is important for you. E.g. level of activities, satisfaction with life, health, leisure, routine, etc).

Do any of the following cause you anxiety or dissatisfaction?

- ☐ Financial concerns.
- ☐ Current or future health of yourself and/ or partner
- ☐ Other

On the whole, do you think that as a consequence of retiring, you are more or less contented with life?

- ☐ More contented ☐ No difference
- ☐ Less contented ☐ Can't answer

Any other comments _____

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire. Please add overleaf, in the space provided, any comments that may occur to you.

For further information, or any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me at any stage.

APPENDIX 3: INFORMATION SHEET AND INFORMED CONSENT FOR INTERVIEW

Research Information Sheet

'How retirement affects identity and lifestyle of academics (provisional title)'

Part I: Information about the research study:

You have been contacted to take part in a research project on retirement of academics. This research is being undertaken at the Research Institute for Life Course Studies at Keele University.

The aims of the research are to investigate the transition from work to retirement for academics, including how retirement affects lifestyle and identity.

Participants have been chosen based on the following characteristics: male, retired academic staff (i.e. receiving occupational pension), whether working or not working and retired for less than 6 years. As a participant, you will be requested to give a face-to-face biographical narrative interview. This should take around one hour and will take place wherever is most convenient for you (e.g. Keele University, at your home, in a quiet café, etc.). Interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed. A brief telephone follow up interview might be necessary for additional data.

The research is being conducted by the PhD student Mrs. Tatiana Schifferle-Rowson, supervised by Prof. Christopher Phillipson and Prof. Sian Maslin-Prothero.

The outcomes of the research will be presented in a PhD dissertation and any publications arising from the study. Anonymised quotations from the interviews might be included. However, information on geographical location, former employer and any other data that might lead to identification of the participant will not be included in the findings or circulated in any way. Participants will not be identified without their written consent.

The data collected will be kept confidential. This will only be viewed by the researcher and, if requested, by the research supervisors. All data will be stored securely in accordance with the Data Protection Act (HMSO 1998). Questionnaires, proformas, and tape-recorded interviews will be stored in a locked cabinet and electronic data will be password protected. Real names, raw, analysed and demographic data will not be associated with any participant. In addition, any identifying features occurring on the

questionnaire will be removed on receipt and any identifying features arising from interviews will be removed during transcription of the recording.

Finally, once the project has been completed all data, tape-recordings and transcripts will be retained for a minimum of five years after completion of the project and then destroyed.

There are no foreseen risks from participating in this research. However, if the participant becomes upset or distressed the interview will be stopped, and he will be given the option of withdrawing.

If you take part in this study you have the right to, among other things:

Refuse to answer any particular question and to withdraw from the study at any time up to the date of submission.

Ask any further questions about the study that occur to you during your participation.

Be given access to a summary of the findings from the study, when it is concluded.

Please let me know if there are any concerns or questions that would you like me to address?

For further information, please do not hesitate to contact me at any stage.

Contact details:

Mrs Tatiana Schifferle-Rowson

Research Institute for Life Course Studies

Keele University

Claus Moser Research Centre

Room CM2.08

Keele, Staffordshire

ST5 5BG

Telephone [Removed]

Email:[Removed]

Part II: Participant Consent Form

Research title: 'How retirement affects identity and lifestyle of academics (provisional title)'

Aims of the research: To investigate the transition from work to retirement for academics. How retirement affects lifestyle and identity.

Researcher: Mrs. Tatiana Schifferle-Rowson – Keele University

Supervisors: Prof. Christopher Phillipson and Prof. Sian Maslin-Prothero.

Participation: Involves one face-to-face biographical narrative interview lasting from one hour. If necessary, there will be a brief telephone follow up interview.

Consent Statement:

	Tick as appropriate:
I have been informed of and understand the purposes of the study	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the research at any time, without giving any reason.	
I am aware of what my participation will involve.	
I understand that there are no foreseen risks from participating in this research. However, if I become upset or distressed the interview will be stopped, and I will be given the option of withdrawing.	
Quotations may be used in the final report and any publications arising from the study. I agree to my comments being used as direct quotations, with the understanding that my name will NOT be attributed to the direct quotation and I will NOT be identified individually from it.	
Any information which might potentially identify me will not be used in published material without my written consent.	
All questions that I have about the research have been satisfactorily answered.	

I agree to participate in the study as outlined to me

I received a copy of the Participant Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project.

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

Participant's name (please print): _____

Tick this box if you would like to receive a summary of the results by e-mail()

E-mail: _____

Contact details:

Mrs Tatiana Schifferle-Rowson

Research Institute for Life Course Studies

Keele University

Claus Moser Research Centre

Room CM2.08

Keele, Staffordshire

ST5 5BG

Telephone [Removed]

Email:[Removed]

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Script

Greetings, thank you for making time for the interview, here is a brief introduction to me. I am Mrs. Tatiana Schifferle-Rowson a PhD student at the Research Institute for Life Course Studies at Keele University.

The aims of the research are to investigate the transition from work to retirement for professional workers, including how retirement affects lifestyle and self identity, and the effects of retirement on individuals with a strong professional identity.

Research information sheet. Permission to tape, informed consent, inform on limitations of confidentiality, any questions and clarifications

As you know, I'm interested in *Retirement*

In a minute I'm going to ask you to please tell me:

Your life story from when you first started to think about your career, starting as far back as you like. All the experiences and the events which were important for you personally, up to now.

Start wherever you like

Please take the time you need

I'll listen first, I won't interrupt

I'll just take some notes in case I have any further questions for after you've finished telling me about it all

OK. So.

Can you please tell me **your life story from when you first started to think about your career, starting as far back as you like.** All the events and experiences which were important for you, personally, up to now. Please start wherever you like and take as much time as you want.

Possible prompts:

How you decided to become an academic?

Could you tell me the story of your working life, including different stages in your career and important moments for you?

You could start at the first 5-10 years...

How was your working life in midlife?

The frustrations and rewards in your professional career.

Changing pressures and demands of working life.

Level of control of working life

Could you tell me a bit (more) about your life outside work? During your working life what were your other activities/interests when not at work? (e.g. Volunteer work, gardening, being with family, sports, reading, etc).

Could you tell me about the decision to retire? How was the transition?

What were the factors that lead to a decision (internal/external)?

How much control did you have over your retirement?

Could you tell me how life is in retirement?

Could you tell me a little (more) about your activities/interests in retirement? What are your other activities/interests, rather than work, today (Please list): (e.g. Volunteer work, gardening, being with family, sports, reading, etc).

How would you compare life before and after retirement?

Would you like to ask any questions? Could you give me some feedback on the questions answered (is there something missing or irrelevant)?

Demographics if not covered on narrative:

Age:

Currently living: ☐ with partner ☐ with other (i.e. friend) ☐ Alone

Area of Expertise/discipline

Age at retirement, i.e. when you first drew your occupational pension, even if continued in paid employment after this date:

At retirement were you working: ☐ Part-time ☐ Full-time

On retirement did you continue for a while in paid employment:

☐ Yes, Part-time ☐ Yes, Full-time ☐ No

If yes, for how many years did this or has this continued?

Are you still working? ☐ Yes, Part-time ☐ Yes, Full-time ☐ No

Is it employment or other (i.e. consultancy) Please, specify:

What are your other activities, rather than work, today (Please list):

How would you rate your health today? ☐ Good ☐ Average ☐ Not very good

On the whole, do you think that as a consequence of retiring you are more or less content in life?

☐ More contented ☐ No different ☐ Less contented ☐ Can't answer

APPENDIX 5: PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS TO ADJUSTMENT TO AGEING AND RETIREMENT

Collins and Smyer (2005), consistently with Atchley's continuity theory (1989, 1999), point out that life transitions that occur as people age can only be seen as negative or positive in relation to personal goals, preferences and self definitions. They point out that to maintain a feeling of self-worth individuals might discontinue, or disengage, from certain life domains or personal goals, which they are no longer able to perform.

Atchley (1989) admits that continuity theory is only a helpful to understand 'normal ageing'. He differentiates between 'normal' and 'pathological ageing' indicating that continuity theory is not helpful understanding the adjustment to ageing for people with chronic disabling conditions. Lieberman and Tobin (1983) claim that internal continuity may be still experienced by people who experienced dramatic changes in external circumstances. Marcoen *et al.* (2007) argue that psychologically older people may adapt themselves to challenging and difficult life circumstances.

Theorists of psychological adjustment to old age, such as Baltes (Baltes and Baltes, 1990; Baltes et al, 1998; Freund and Baltes, 1998) and Brandtstädler (Brandtstädler and Greve, 1994; Brandtstädler and Rothermund, 1994), advocate that successful adjustment to old age, considering limitations on health and mobility, is dependent on the individual's capacity of either adjusting their environment so their goals are met; or selecting their goals or domains based on their best abilities. Baltes (1997) argues that individuals are encouraged to select domains which are more rewarding and that can be performed without much effort. However he warns that individuals may make wrong choices in terms of domains or goals to pursue, not leading to an optimisation the individuals' sense of self (Baltes, 1997). Brandtstädler and Greve (1994) claim that individuals would not only select their goals and domains according to their abilities, as described by Baltes (1997), but also would attempt to change the environment to better fit 'selected' goals and domains. This process was called

assimilation (Brandtstädler and Greve, 1994). Brandtstädler and Greve (1994) describe another process individuals may go through to adapt to changes related to ageing, the process of accommodation which involves the adjustment of goals and expectations downwards in light of limitations and constraints such as poor health or deduced mobility (Brandtstädler and Greve, 1994). Marcoen *et al.* (2007) warn that more research on the process of accommodation and goals adjustment is necessary. Marcoen *et al.* (2007) agree that older adults use different strategies to successfully adapt and preserve their sense of well being, even in face of the challenges and disadvantages that may occur in later life. They continue pointing out that even more research is necessary to fully validate the concept of accommodation. Brandtstädler's theory (Brandtstädler and Greve, 1994; Brandtstädler and Rothermund, 1994) highlights the active role that older people play in managing their own lives, making later life experience look more positive and challenging (Marcoen *et al.* 2007).